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DIGITUS DEI:

NEVV DISCOVERYES;

WITH

Sure Arguments to prove that the *Jews* (a Nation) or People loſt in the world for the ſpace of near 200 years, inhabite now in *America*; How they came thither; Their Manners, Cuſtoms, Rites and Ceremonies; The unparallel'd cruelty of the Spaniard to them; And that the *Americans* are of that Race.

Manifeſted by Reaſon and Scripture, which foretell the Calling of the *Iewes*; and the Reſtitution of them into their own Land, and the bringing back of the Ten Tribes from all the ends and corners of the Earth, and that great Battell to be fought.

With the Removall of ſome contrary Reaſonings, and an earneſt deſire for effectuall endeavours to make them Chriſtians,

whereunto is added

An Epiſtolicall Diſcourſe of Mr *Iohn Dury*, with the Hiſtory of *Ant: Monterinos*, atteſted by *Manaſſeh Ben Iſrael*, a chief Rabby.

By *Tho: Thorowgood*, B: D.

Cant. 8. 8. *We have a little ſiſter, and ſhe hath no breaſts, what ſhall we doe for our ſiſter in the day when ſhe ſhall be ſpoken for?*

Mat. 8. 11. *Many ſhall come from the Eaſt, and from the Weſt, and ſhall ſit downe with* Abraham, *and* Iſaac, *and* Jacob *in the Kingdome of Heaven.*

Æthiopes vertuntur in filios Dei, ſi egerint pœnitentiam, & filii Dei tranſeunt in Æthiopes, ſi in profundum venerint peccatorum; *Hieronym. in Eſai.*

London, Printed for *Thomas Slater*, and are to be ſold at his ſhop at the ſigne of the *Angell* in *Duck-Lane*. 1652.

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TO THE HONOVRABLE Knights and Gentlemen that have residence in, and relation to the County of *Norfolk*, Peace, from the God of Peace.

Hen the glad tidings of the Gospels sounding in America by the preaching of the English arrived hither, my soule also rejoyced within me, and I remembred certaine papers that had been laid aside a long time, upon review of them, and some additions to them, they were privately communicated unto such as perswaded earnestly they might behold further light; being thus finished, and licenced also to walke abroad, as

D. Laert. p. 381. they were stepping forth, that incivility charged upon *Chrysippus* occurred, that he dedicated not his writings to any King or Patron, which custome presently seemed not onely lawfull, but as ancient as those Scriptures where Saint *Luke* in the history of the *Acts of the Apostles* applies himselfe to *Theophilus*, *Act.* 1. 1. And Saint *Iohn to the Elect Lady*, so named, some thinke, or for her graces so entituled, I was easily induced to follow this fashion, and my thoughts soone reflected upon you, Who are θεόφιλοι, as well as φιλοπατρίδες, lovers of God, and choice men of your Countrey. I may be censured for this high, generall, and ambitious dedication; but I doe freely publish my own utter unworthinesse: tis true, my respects and love be very much to you all, and my native soile, yet in this I doe not drive any private designe, I looke beyond my selfe, at your honour, the honour of the Nation, yea the glory of God, and the soule-good of many millions that are yet *in darkenesse and out of Christ*; By you is the following tract communicated to the world, I wish, and pray, that the designe bespoken in it may be cordially furthered by you, and all that read or heare there-

D. Heins. in 2. Jo.

thereof; tis like you will finde in the *probabilities* so many Iudaicall resemblances in *America*, that as it was said of old, ἢ Πλάτων Φιλονίζει, ἢ Φίλων Πλατωνίζει, either *Plato* writes like *Philo* the Iew, or *Philo* is become Platonicke; so the *Jewes* did *Indianize*, or the *Indians* doe *Judaize*, for surely they are alike in many, very many remarkable particulars, and if they bee Iewes, they must not for that be neglected; visible comments indeed they are of that dismall Text, *Thou shalt become an astonishment, a proverbe, and a by-word to all Nations, &c. Deut.* 20. 37. and so they are every where to this day: what more reproachfull obloquy is there among men, then this, *Thou art a Jew?* Oh the bitter fruits of disobedience; and tis high time for us Gentiles to lay up that example, *in the midst of our hearts, Pro.* 4. 21. remembring alwaies, *because of unbeliefe they were broken off, and, if God spared not the naturall branches, take heed lest hee spare not thee. Rom.* 11. 21. It was a suddaine sentence, *Tam viles inter Christianos Iudæi, ut inter mundum triticum mures, Jewes are as bad and vile among Christians, as Mice in cleane wheate;* for glorious were their privileges, and we have

Hesych. 9

Io. Maj. Hist. Scot. *l.* 4. *c.* 9.

a ſhare in ſome of them, that laſt eſpecially---- *of whom concerning the fleſh Chriſt came, who is God over all, bleſſed for ever*, *Rom.* 9. 4, 5. and for another thing they have highly merited our regard---- *To them were commited the Oracles of God*, *Rom.* 3. 9. The holy Scriptures were concredited to them, and they have faithfully preſerved them for us, and conveyed them to us: Former times indeed found cauſe to exterminate them theſe dominions, I ſay nothing for ſuch their reintroduction, which muſt be with ſacred and civill cautions, that the *ſweet name of our deareſt Lord* be not blaſphemed, nor the Natives robbed of their rights, but when will Chriſtians in earneſt endeavour their converſion, if the name of *Jew* muſt be odious everlaſtingly? I ſpeak for their Goſpelizing, though ſome ſuſpect they are never likely to come again under that covenant, as if the *Liber repudii*, *the bill of divorce* mentioned by the Prophet did put them away from God for ever, *Eſa.* 50. 1. as if they ſhould return to their Spouſe no more, *but that there is for them a time of love, and that they ſhall be grafted in*, *Rom.* 11. 23. is manifeſted afterwards upon Scripture grounds; and if the period of their

Sixt. Sen. Bib. S. l. 2. R. p. 97. Wollet. Comp. Theol. p. 197.

Part. 1.

their wandering be upon its determination, and their recovery approching, how may wee rejoyce in the returne of that *Prodigall*? It is meet that wee ſhould *make merry and be glad, for our brother that was dead is reviving againe*, *Luk.* 15: 32. How ſhould wee beg for them that God would poure *upon them the ſpirit of grace and ſupplication, that they may looke upon him whom they have pierced, and mourne for him as one mourneth for his onely ſonne.* *Zach.* 12. 10. Or if the loſt Tribes are not to be found in *America*, of whatſoever deſcent and origination the poore Natives be, if they finde the Lord Chriſt, and the *Nov-angles* be the *Wiſemen* guiding them unto their peace, great cauſe ſhall wee have to lift up the high praiſes of our God in ſpirituall exultation; how ſhould wee *caſt our mite into this treaſury*, yea our *Talent*, our *Talents*, if wee have them? for certainely the time is comming, *That as there is one Shepherd, there ſhall be one Sheepfold*: *Io.* 10. 16. It is true, our owne Countrey in many reſpects ſtands in need of helpe, wee are fallen into the laſt and worſt times, the old age of the world, full of dangerous and ſinneſull diſeaſes, *Iniquity is encreaſed*, and if

ever,

ever, if to any people, the ſaying of that *Tor-*
T.1. Ep.p.105. *rent of Tullian eloquence* (*ſo Ierome calls Lactantius*) be applicable, it is to poore *England*, that is not onely in the gall of bitterneſſe, but in the very dregs of error and ungodlineſſe, *Ideo mala omnia rebus humanis ingraveſcunt, quia Deus hujus mundi effector ac gubernator derelictus*
lib. 5. c. 8. *eſt, quia ſuſceptæ ſunt, contra quam fas eſt impiæ religiones, poſtremo quia ne coli quidem vel à paucis Deus ſinitur.* But, *O my ſoule, if thou be wiſe, be wiſe for thy ſelfe*, *Pro.* 9. 12. and give mee leave to ſay to you as *Moſes* to his Iſraell, *Onely take heed to your ſelves, and keepe your ſoules diligently*, *Deut.* 4. 9. *make your calling and election ſure*, 2 *Pet.* 1. 10. and becauſe you are the children of faithfull *Abraham*, *command your children and families that they walke in the waies of the Lord*, *Gen.* 18. 9. and let who will ſerve themſelves, follow lying vanities, and ſet up their owne luſts; let every one of us ſay and do as *Ioſhua*, *I and my houſe will ſerve the Lord*, *Joſh.* 24. 15. And not onely ſerve the Lord with and in our houſholds, but in furthering the common good of others, and tis conſiderable God is pleaſed to owne publique

lique intereſts, though in civill things with the name of his *owne inheritance*. But this is the ſinne, this is the miſery of theſe times, *All ſeek their owne, not the things of Ieſus Chriſt*. Even regulated charity may beginne at home, it may not, it muſt not end there, it is the onely grace that is ſowne on earth, it growes up to heaven and continues there, it goes with us thither, and there abides to all eternity, and tis therefore μειζων, *greater* then faith and hope, not from continuance onely, but its extenſiveneſſe, it delights to be communicative, it reacheth an hand of helpe one way or other to every one that needs, though at never ſo great a diſtance; after the cloven tongues as of fire h[illegible]warmed the affections of the holy Apoſtles, they had ſo much love to ſoules that they forgat their fathers houſe, diſcipled all Nations, and preached the Goſpel to every creature, *Their line went through all the earth, and their words to the ends of the world*, that former known world, the ſame ſpirit hath warmed the hearts of our Countreymen, and they are buſie at the ſame worke in the other, the new-found world; For *behold a white horſe and he that ſate on him had a bow, and a Crown was gi-*

Nehem. 3. 5. 2 Sam. 20. 19.

Phil. 2. 21.

1 Cor. 13. laſt.

Act. 2. 1.

Pſa. 19. 4.

Revel. 6. 2.

given unto him, and hee went forth conquering, and to conquer; so the Lord Christ shall be light
Esa. 49. 6. to that *world also, and Gods salvation to the ends of the earth. Britain* hath woon the Gospel-glory from all other Countries, not onely imbra-
De excid. Brit. cing it with the formost, as old *Gildas* testifieth, but it was the first of all the Provinces that established Christianity by a law
In Bal. Cent. p. 23. saith *Sabellicus*, our *Lucius* was the first Chri-
Hist. l. i. c. 8. stian King that Annales make mention of, and venerable *Bede* out of *Eutropius* declareth that *Constantine* the first Christian Emperour, was created to that dignity in this Island, & *Sozom. l. 9. c. 11.* saith that so were *Marcus* & *Gratian* also; But *Constantine* brought further honour to the Nation & Religion: For the S[illegible]n *Bede*,
p. 25. and *Ponticus Virunnius* affirme expressly, that *Constantine* was born in *Britaine*; after this, *inge-*
Rev. 13. 3. *muit orbis videns se totum Romanum, All the world wondred after the Beast*, & groaned under the Papall servitude, and our K. *Henry* the eight was the first of all the Princes who brake that yoke of Antichrist: but neerer yet to our purpose;
c. 5. 123. The Inhabitants of the first *England*, so *Verstegan* calls that part of *Germany* whence our Ancestors came hither with the Saxons and *Iutes*,

de-

derive their Chriſtianity from Iewry, *Ad nos doctrina de terra Iudæorum per ſanctos Apoſtolos, qui docebant gentes, pervenit*, as that great linguiſt, learned, and laborious Mr *Wheelocke* hath obſerved, and tranſlated out of the old Saxon Homilies, tis but juſt therefore *lege talionis*, that we repay what we borrowed, and endeavour their converſion who firſt acquainted us with the eternall Goſpell, and if it be probable that providence honoured this Nation with the prime diſcovery of that New World, as is intimated hereafter, it is true without all controverſie, that from this ſecond *England* God hath ſo diſpoſed the hearts of many in the third, New *England*, that they have done more in theſe laſt few yeares towards their converſion, then hath been effected by all other Nations and people that have planted there ſince they were firſt known to the habitable world, as if that Propheſie were now in its fulfilling; *Behold, I will doe a new thing, now it ſhall ſpring forth ſhall ye not know it? I will even make a way in the Wildernes and rivers in the deſart, &c.* When our Anceſtors lay alſo in darkeneſſe and the ſhadow of death, *Gregory* wrote divers Epiſtles to ſeverall Noblemen and Biſhops, yea and

Not. in Bed. Hiſt. p. 257.

Part. 3.

Eſa. 43.19.

K. Theodoric. Theodebert, Clotharius, Qu. Brunechild of France, and to Aldibert and Aldiberga of England. Concil. p. 71.

and to some Kings and Queenes of *France* and *England*, these Sir *H. Spelman* that famous Antiquary, your noble Countreyman, and of alliance to divers of you, calls *epistolas Britannicas*, which are also mentioned afterwards; in these he gives God thankes for their forwardnesse to further the worke of grace, and desires earnestly the continuance of their bountifull and exemplary encouragement of such as were zealously employed in that Soule-worke, and that is one of the two businesses entended in the following discourse, which begs your assistance in your Spheres, and cordiall concurrence to promote a designe of so much glory to the Lord of glory. This is no new notion, or motion, all the royall Charters required the Gospellizing of the Natives, and in the beginning of this Parliament there was an Ordinance of Lords and Commons appointing a Committee of both, and their worke was, among other things, to advance the true Protestant Religion in *America*, and to spread the Gospell among the Natives there; and since, very lately, there is an Act for the promoting and propagating the Gospell of Iesus Christ in *New-England*. I wish prosperity to

all

all the Plantations, but those of *New-England* deserve from hence more then ordinary favour; becauſe, as by an Edict at *Wincheſter*, about eighth hundred yeeres ſince, King *Ecbert* commanded this Country ſhould be called *Angles*-land, ſo theſe your Countreymen of their owne accord, and alone, were, and are, ambitious to retain the name of their owne Nation; beſides, this *England* had once an Heptarchate, and then your Countrey was the chiefe of that Kingdome called *Anglia Orientalis*, and theſe are the neereſt of all the ſeven to you in name, Nov-angles, Eaſt-angles; I pray that you would be neareſt and moſt helpefull to them in this moſt Chriſtian and Goſpel-like deſigne, which I leave with you, and two or three Petitions at the throne of grace for you; one is that of *Moſes*, *Yee ſhall not doe after all the things that wee do heare this day, every man whatſoever is right in his owne eyes*, but that ye walk by rule and not by example; this is an age much enclining to Enthouſiaſmes and Revelations, men pretend to externall and inward impulſes, but wee muſt remember, though wee had a voice from heaven, yet having the Scriptures wee have a more

Holinſh. Chro. part. 1. p. 15.

Kent, Mercia, Weſt-Saxons, Northumberland, Eaſt-Angles, Eaſt-Saxons, South-Saxons.

Deut. 12 8.

2 Pet. 1. 19. *more ſure Propheticall word, whereunto yee doe well that yee take heed, as unto a light, that ſhineth in a darke place, untill the day dawne, and the day ſtarre ariſe in your hearts*; here is a compariſon, even with an heavenly voice, which muſt vaile and ſubmit to the written word, becauſe poore mankind may eaſily be deluded by him, who among his many other wiles and depths
2 Cor. 11. 14. can *transform himſelf into an Angel of light*. Againe, my prayer for you is, that in the wofull concuſsions and commotions of theſe daies, your ſelves may ſtand firme and unmoveable: You have ſeene *the waters troubled,*
Pſal. 46. 3. *and the Mountaines ſhaken with the ſwelling thereof*, Oh, that you may ſay in and with holy *Davids* ſenſe, *though an hoſt ſhould encampe againſt me, my heart ſhall not feare, though warre ſhould*
Pſal. 27. 3. *riſe up againſt me, in this will I be confident*; this? and what is it, but ver. 1. *The Lord is my light and my ſalvation, whom ſhall I feare, the Lord is the ſtrength of my life, of whom ſhall I be afraid*; even heathens have ſaid much and done much towards that μεγαλοψυχία, magnanimity and patience, but Chriſtians have an higher proſpect, they looke above the terrors of men, and *they*
Eſa. 8. 12. *doe not feare their feare*; for as *Stephen* through

a ſhowre of ſtones, they *can ſee the heavens open and the Sonne of man ſitting at the right hand of God*; *nihil eius ſentit in nervo, ſi animus ſit in cœlo*, they are not ſo much affected with what they feele, as with that they believe, becauſe *we walk by faith and not by ſight*. Act. 7. 56. Tertull. 2 Cor. 5. 7.

And oh, that theſe ſtrange mutations may perſwade us all, *all the daies of our appointed time to waite, untill our change come*, even that change which never, never can again be changed; theſe are *the laſt times and yet a little while, yea* μικρὸν ὅσον ὅσον, *yet a little, little while, and hee that ſhall come will come, and will not tarry, his fan is in his hand, and he will throughly purge his floore, and gather the wheate into the garner, but will burne up the chaffe with unquenchable fire. The ungodly ſhall not ſtand in the judgement*, for all faces ſhall then be unmasked, and every vizard ſhall be plucked off, *The Lord will then bring to light the hidden things of darkneſſe, and will make manifeſt the counſels of the heart, and then every one* that hath done well, *ſhall have praiſe of God*. The Lord God of our mercies fit you for his appointment, *ſtabliſh you in every good word and worke, and keepe you from evill, that you may give up your account with joy, and not* Job. 14. 14. 1 Joh. 2. 18. Heb. 10. 37. Mat. 3. 12. Pſal. 1. 5. 1 Cor. 4. 5. 2 Theſ. 2. 17. 3. 3. Heb. 13. 17.

with

2 Tim. 4. 8. *with griefe*; and now I commend you all, and all that love that *appearing of our Lord*, *unto the word of his grace*, *which is able to build you up*, Act. 20. 32. *and to give you an inheritance among all them that are sanctified*; such is the serious and unfaigned devotion for you, of him who willingly subscribes himselfe,

Your most humble servant

in our dearest Lord,

THO: THOROWGOOD.

The

The Preface to the READER.

BOna domus in ipso veistbulo debet agnosci *saith* Austin, *the portall commonly promiseth somewhat of the house it self, and prefaces be as doors that let in the Reader to the Booke, and bespeake much of the intention of the writer*; *you are in some measure prepared already by the foregoing Epistle, with the forefront, and first page:* Marsilius Ficinus *said of his booke* De triplici Vita, Esca tituli tam suavis quam plurimos alliciet ad gustandum, *The title will invite some to further enquiry*; *it is in mans nature to be well pleased with novelties, thence later times have had good leave to correct former mistakes. It was written with confidence long since, that the shee Beares did licke their informe litter into fashion, that the young Viper thrusts its Dam out of the world to bring it selfe into it, and that the Swan sings its owne dirige at his dying, all which be sufficiently confuted by after experiences, famous varieties of this sort be daily produced to view, those are curious enquiries into common errors by Doctor* Browne. *It was said of one contort in body, but of a fine spirit,* Animus Galbæ malè habitat, *It was a bad house for so good an Inhabitant*; *many thought so and worse of* Richard *the third, King of* England, *till those later endeavours to rectifie him and his readers. that* Geographia Sacra *is an exact and accurate worke, in respect of the subject and materials, the scattering of Nations at the building*

De Doct. Chri. l. 4.

Longa, Sana, Caletus, Apolog. ad finem.

Obiect. Acad. c. 21.

Pſud. Epidem.

Mr Burks Hist.

ding of Babel, and it may puzzle ſome mens thoughts, that hee ſhould know ſo well the places of their diſperſion ſo long ſince, and yet wee continue ignorant what is become of Gods owne firſt people, which ſhall be recovered to him againe, and have not been miſſing ſo many yeares. The Trojans, though now no Nation, live yet in the ambitious deſire of other people, clayming from them their deſcent: The Jewes, once the Lords owne peculiar people, are now the ſcomme and ſcorne of the world, Florus calls their glory the Temple, Impiæ gentis arcanum; Democritus another Hiſtorian ſaid they worſhipped an Aſſes head, every third yeere ſacrificed a man, &c. Others ſpeake ſpightfull things of them, and their pettigree; only the Lacedemonian King, in that Letter whereof you have a copy, 1 Macab. 12. 20. &c. tells Onias the High Prieſt. It is found in writing that the Spartans and Jewes are Brethren, and come out of the generation of Abraham. The originall indeed of the Jewes is aſſuredly knowne to themſelves and all Chriſtians; Wee have no ſuch evidence for any other people that have now a being; there is nothing more in the darke to the inhabitants of the ſeverall parts of this earth, then their owne beginnings, and tis thus in Countries of a long time knowne to each other, and yet in ſuch diſquiſition they cannot afford one another almoſt any light or help; no wonder therefore that the Originall of the Americans is in ſuch uncertaine obſcurity, for their very name hath not been heard of much more than one hundred and fifty yeares, tis a wonder rather that ſo great a part of the world ſhould be till then Terra incognita, notwithſtanding the ambition, curioſity, and avarice of mankind carried him into a greedy inquiſition after all places and corners where men and beaſts abode, or any commodity was to be found: Hieronimus Benzo in his Nova novi orbis Hiſtoria, ſo often hereafter mentioned, profeſſeth, that above all things concerning the Americans, his great deſigne was to finde out what thoughts they had of Chriſtians; touching the Countrey it ſelfe in the Topography and other particulars, beſides divers mentioned in the following diſcourſe; ſome have of late done excellently that way: that tis no part of my buſineſſe, which, next to the deſire of their converſion to Chriſt, was, and is, to aske whence they came; and that they be Judaicall, I have laid together ſeverall conjectures

Hiſt. Rom. Tacitus. Idcos ab Ida. l. 5. Plut. Symp. c. 5. Suidas in Judas.

l. 2. c. 18. p. 248.

Io. de Laet deſcriptio Americ. dedic. Carolo R. Britan.

Mr. Caſtel, Mr. Cogge, &c.

as

as they occurred in reading and obſerving, to ſtirre up and awaken more able inquiſitors, to looke after the beginning, nature, civilizing, and Goſpellizing thoſe people, and to caſt in my poore mite towards the encouragement of our Countreymen in ſuch their pious undertaking; and though ſome men have ſpoken meane things of them in reference to their labours that way, as if they had been negligent therein, ſuch men conſider not I feare, how long their Countreymen have been wraſtling with divers difficulties, and buſily employing their minds and time in providing outward accommodations for themſelves in a ſtrange land, they remember not the naturall perverſeneſſe of all mankind to ſpirituall things, nor with what counterworkes Satan doth oppoſe the underminers of his Principalities, nor how he hath broken the language of the Natives into ſeverall tongues and dialects to impede their converſion, nor how the Novangles have themſelves been broken into divers ruptures, leſt they ſhould be at leaſure to further the enlargement of Chriſts Kingdome upon the ſpoiles and diminution of his; this was in the purpoſe of their hearts at firſt, and now to their comfort they do abundantly ſee that the Natives are a docible people, who for their contempt of gold & ſilver, and for ſome other reaſons, have been deemed bruitiſh, and almoſt irrationall; but to what is after written it may be mentioned in this place, that in Mexico *they were obſerved to be wiſe and politique in* l. l. p. 37. *government, to the admiration of Chriſtians, yea they were not ignorant in thoſe parts of letters and writing, though in a different faſhion from others:* Acoſta *did obſerve, the Jewes write from the right hand to the left, others from the left to the right, the Chinois* l. 6. c. 9. *or Eaſt-Indians write from the top to the bottom, & the Mexicans from the bottome to the top, the Reformed Dominican in his new* Mr Gage. p. 183 *ſurvey of the Weſt-Indies, tells of a Town as he travelled, called A-*
mat Titlan, a Towne of Letters, and of very curious Artifices of p. 50. &c. *their Citizens, of Goldſmiths worke and otherwiſe, their ingenuity, cunning and courage is marvelouſly manifeſt in their lea-* Acoſt. l. 3 c. 13. *ding a Whale as big as a mountaine, with a cord, and vanquiſhing him in this manner; by the helpe of their Canoes or little Boats, they come neare to the broad ſide of that huge creature, and with great dexterity leape upon his necke, there they ride as on horſebacke, and thruſt a ſharpe ſtake into his noſthrill, ſo they*

call the hole or vent by which they breathe, he beats it in with another Stake as forcibly as hee can, the furious Whale in the meane time raiseth Mountaines of waters, and runnes into the deep with great violence and paine, the Indian still sits firme, driving in another stake in o that other passage, so stopping his breath, then hee goes againe to his Canoe, which with a cord hee had tied to the Whales side, and so he passeth to land; the Whale running away with the cord, leaps from place to place in much paine till hee gets to shoare, and being on ground, hee cannot move his huge body, then a great number of Indians come to the conquerer, they kill the Whale, cut his flesh in pieces, they dry it, and make use of it for food, which lasts them long, thus plainely verifying that expression, Psal. 74. 14. Thou breakest the heads of Leviathan in pieces, and gavest him to be meat to the people inhabiting the Wildernesse : *When, or where, or by whom is this thus done, but by these? who will not now desire, and willingly lend his helpe to cover their naked bodies, and cloath their more naked soules with the Gospel, who, and who alone have so literally fulfilled that Scripture of our God? But let me commend three other things to thy consideration, that thy affections may bee warmed towards thy Countreymen, and they receive encouragement in the planting of themselves, and the Gospel among the Natives.*

First, they may be preparing an hiding place for thy selfe, whoever, whatever now thou art, thou mayst be overtaken by a tempest, and stand in need of a shelter, and where canst thou be better for sweetnesse of aire and water, with the fertility of the soile, giving two wheate harvests in one yeare in severall places, yea in some, three, saith P. Martyr, *and Books generally speake of that Land as of a second* Canaan : *and for* New-England *you may believe the relation of a very friend there to his like here, who mutually agreed upon a private character, that the truth might be discovered without deceit or glozing, and thus he wrote to him whom he entirely loved. The aire of this Country is very sweet and healthfull, the daies two houres shorter in Summer, and two houres longer in Winter then they be with you, the Summer is a little hotter, and the Winter, a little colder, our grounds are very good and fruitfull for all kind of corne, both English and In-*

Gage survey. p. 85. 1, 5. 139.

P. 153. 246.

Letter of A.C. 1635.

Indian, our cattell thrive much better here then in Old England, *Fowle encreaſe with us exceedingly, wee have many ſweet and excellent ſprings, and freſh Rivers, with abundance of good Fiſh in them; of a very truth, I believe verily, it will be within a few yeares the plentifulleſt place in the whole world, &c. I might proclaime, ſaith* Lerius, *the Inhabitants of that Land happy, meaning the Natives, if they had knowledge of the Creator; ſo that as parents intending to marry their Daughters well, extend themſelves in what they may to encreaſe their portion, and make way for their preferment, our heavenly Father hath dealt thus with theſe Americans, enriching them with Gold, Silver, good aire, good water, and all other accommodations for uſe and delight, that they might be the more earneſtly wooed and ſought after.* p. 168.

And yet further, as he commended his houſe offered to ſale, that it had good neighbours, if thou beeſt driven thither, goe cheerefully, for thou goeſt to thine owne Countreymen, from one England *to another, New* England *indeed, witneſſe that experimented aſſeveration of him worthy of credit, who having lived in a Colony there of many thouſand Engliſh almoſt twelve yeares, and was held a very ſociable man, ſpeaketh conſiderately, I never heard but one oath ſworne, never ſaw one man drunke, nor ever heard of three women adultereſſes, if theſe ſinnes be among us privily, the Lord heale us, I would not be underſtood to boaſt of our innocency, there is no cauſe I ſhould, our hearts may be bad enough, and our lives much better. And yet they have more abundantly teſtified their pious integrity in ſerious endeavours to propogate Goſpel-holineſſe, even to thoſe that be without, their godly labours Chriſtianizing the Natives muſt be remembred to their praiſe, they have had long and longing preparative thoughts and purpoſes that way, and as Saint* Paul *once to his Corinthians,* 2. 6. 11. *they have ſeemed to ſay O Americans,* our mouth is opened unto you, our heart is enlarged, you are not ſtraightned in us, be not ſtraightned in your owne bowels, and now for a recompence of all our endeavours *to preach Chriſt unto you, we aske no more, but* be ye alſo enlarged *with gladneſſe to receive the Lord Jeſus Chriſt: their active induſtry in this kind with the ſucceſſe is now famouſly viſible in ſeverall diſcourſes, which whoſoever ſhall read will be ſufficiently contented in his ſpirituall* Plutar. Themiſt Sim. C. p. 61.

and outward well-wishings to his friends, both of this Nation and the Natives, for the Gospel runs there and is glorified: and here

Mr. Gage. I crave leave to speake a word or two to the Military Reader, the late English American traveller, dedicating his observations upon his journeys of three thousand three hundred miles within the maine Land of America, to the Lord Fairefax, speakes knowingly to his Excellency, that with the same paines and charge that the English have been at in planting one of the petty Islands, they might have conquered so many great Cities, and large territories on the Continent as might very well merit the title of a Kingdom; he shewes further, that the Natives have not onely just right to

Mr Gage pref. & p.139, & 10 the Land, and may transferre it to whom they please, but that it may easily be wonne from the Spaniards, and that for these three reasons among the rest. 1. The Spaniards themselves are but few and thinne. 2. The Indians and Blackamoores will turne against them, and so will 3. The Criolians, that is, the Spaniards borne in America, whom they will not suffer to beare office in Church or state; Looke Westward then yee men of Warre, thence you may behold a rising Sunne of glory, with riches and much honour, and not onely for your selves, but for Christ, whom you say you desire above all, and are delighted to honour: In yonder Countries, that the following leaves speake of, non cedunt arma togæ, the pen yeelds to the pike, the first place of honour is

Acosta. Hist. l. 6. c. 26. given to the profession of armes, and therefore in Mexico the Noblemen were the chiefe Souldiers; thus you may enlarge not onely your owne renowne, but the borders of the Nation, yea the Kingdome of the King of Saints. We have all made covenants and professions of reformation at home, with promises to propagate the Gospell of our deare Lord among those that remaine in great and miserable blindnesse, how happy were it for them and us, if this England were in such a posture of holinesse and tranquility, that all opportunities might be imbraced to advance its territories abroad; In the interim I could wish with the most passionate, and compassionate of all the holy Prophets, Oh that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountaine of teares, that I might weep day and night for the sinnes, and for the slaine of the daughter of my people, Oh that I had in the wildernesse, &c. Ier. 9. 1. 2. Our Countrey is justly called our mother, whose heavy groanes

under

under multiplied miseries be heard from all places, whose bowels doe not sympathize with her, and yerne over her, who is not unwilling or ashamed to gather riches or honour from her rents and ruine; the Heathen Orator spake affectionately, our parents are dear to us, and so be our children, alliances and familiars, but the love of our country, comprehends in it and with it all other dearnesses whatsoever; and in another place, Omnes qui patriam conservarunt, adjuverunt, auxerunt, certum est esse in cælo, *tis certaine they are all in heaven that have been lovers and conservators of their Country; and when heathenish* Babylon *was the place of Israels exile, they are commanded by God himselfe, to seeke the* peace of the City whether they were carried, and pray unto the Lord for it, *Jer.* 29.7. *It is recorded to the honour of* Mordecai, *that he sought the wealth of his people, Esth.* 10.3. *the contrary to this entailes ignominy to men and their posterity, by the book of Gods own heraldry,* Esa. 14.20. Thou shalt not be joyned with them in buriall, because thou hast destroyed thy land, and slaine thy people, the seed of evill doers shall never be renowned; *for that Judge judged righteously: In a civill warre there is no true victory, inasmuch as he that prevaileth is also a loser. But I returne, and remove to peruse these probabilities, and if they like not, because they are no more but guesses and conjectures, yet the requests I hope shall be listened unto, for they aime at Gods glory and mans salvation, and nothing else; and surely the poore Natives will not be a little encouraged to looke after the glorious Gospel of Christ, when they shall understand that not onely the English among them, but we all here are daily suitors for them at the throne of grace, so that we may say as* Paul *to the Romans,* 1.9. God is our witnesse, whom wee serve with our spirit in the Gospel of his Sonne, that without ceasing wee make mention of them alwaies in our prayers; *Mr.* Elliot *whose* praise is now through all our Churches, 2 *Cor.* 8. 18. *deserves publique encouragement from hence, besides those sprinklings of an Apostolicall spirit received from heaven, by which in an high and holy* ambition he preacheth the *Gospell* where Christ had not been named, *Rom.* 15. 20. *such another* [illegible], *like-minded soule-lover is not readily to be found,* that naturally careth for their matters, *Phil.* 2. 20. *regarding the Indians as if they were his owne charge and children, and as God hath furnished him-*

Cic. de Offic.

Somn. Scip.

Sir *Io. Dodr.* Hist of Princes of *Wales.* p. 23.

him with miniſteriall and ſpirituall abilities for the worke. I wiſh that he and his com-Fresbyters and companions in that labour, might be ſupplyed with all externall accommodations, to further the civilizing, and Goſpellizing of the Americans.

And now me thinks I heare thee ſay alſo, Oh that the day breaking of the Goſpel there, might be the way of Saints, even the path of the juſt, as the ſhining light that ſhineth more and more unto the perfect day, *Pro.* 4. 18. *and oh that all our Nation here and there, would forbeare all other ſtrivings, being aſhamed and afraid leſt their woefull quarrels be told in* Gath, *and publiſhed in the ſtreets of* Askalon, *to the prejudice of the*
Ep. p. 819. *Goſpels progreſſe here and there and every where*; Eraſmus *felt what he ſaid of the differences in his time,* Tragædiæ Lutheranæ mihi ipſi etiam calculo moleſtiores, *and who laments not the woefull tearings of our Nation? who bewailes* not to ſee the breakings of the ſheepfold? who mournes not to heare the ſtrange bleeting of the flocks? *and what ſoule is not grieved for* the great diviſions *of* England? *and let me wiſh once more, Oh that all who love the Lord* Jeſus in ſincerity, *would* ſtudy to ſpeake *the ſame things, and that all would be perfectly joyned together* in the ſame minde, and in the ſame judgement, 1 *Cor.* 1. 10. *converting all their tongue-combats, and pen-contentions into an earneſt contending, that the* faith once delivered to the Saints *(Jud.* 3.*) might be preſerved whole, holy, and entire among themſelves, and be with like holineſſe and integrity communicated to the Indians, that doe now ſo much hunger and thirſt after that righteouſneſſe of our moſt deare Lord and Maſter Chriſt; let us all with our tongues, purſes, pens, counſels, and prayers, promote this worke of God with one (houlder and conſent: there be among us here that have had this in their daily devotions more then twenty yeares, which is mentioned to no other end but from deſire to call in thy helpe alſo; I will take leave by commending to thy practice the imitation of learned and holy* Theod. Beza *in his daily prayer for the Iewes, Lord Ieſus thou*
In Rom. 11. 18. *doſt juſtly avenge the contempt of thy ſelfe, and that ingratefull people is worthy of thy moſt ſevere indignation; but, Lord, remember thy covenant, and for thy names ſake be favourable to thoſe miſerable wretches, and to us the moſt unworthy of all men, unto whom thou haſt vouchſafed thy mercy, beſtow this goodneſſe alſo, that we may grow in thy grace, that we be not inſtruments of thy wrath againſt them, but rather, both by the knowledg of thy word, and by the examples of holy life, we may, by the aſſiſtance and vertue of thy holy Spirit, reduce them into the right way, that thou maiſt once be glorified of all Nations and people for ever,*

Amen.

An

JEWES IN AMERICA,

OR

Probabilities that the Americans be Jewes:

From

Part. 1.

Generall Introduction, Chap. 1.

Six severall conjectures, by
1. Conjecture. Their own acknowledgement, Ch. 2.
2. Rites and customes in both alike, Common ceremonies such, Chap. 3. and solemn, Ch. 4.
3. Their words and manner of speech, as the Iewes, Chap. 5.
4. Their man-devouring, Ch. 6.
5. They have not yet been Gospellized, Ch. 7.
6. Their calamities, as 28. *Deut.* Ch. 8.

Part 2.

Some contrary reasonings removed.
1. In the Generall, Ch. 1.
2. Particularly, How,
1. The Iewes should get into America. Chap. 1.
2. So few empeople that great part of the world. Ch. 3.
3. Become so prodigiously barbarous. Chap. 4.

Part. 3.

Earnest desires for hearty endeavours to make them Christian,
1. To the Planters,
1. Cause of their removall. Chap. 1.
2. Hope of the Natives Conversion. Chap 2.
3. Directions to it. Chap. 3.
4. Cautions about it. Chap. 4.

2. To the English there.
1. In behalfe of the Planters, aspersions wiped off. Chap. 5. & 6.
2. Towards the Natives conversion,
1. Motives. Chap. 7.
2. Helps. Chap. 8.
3. Encouragements from our Countrymens pious endeavours there. Ch. 9.
4. And the successe thereof upon the Indians. Ch. 10.

An Epiſtolicall Diſcourſe

Of Mr. *IOHN DURY*,

TO

Mr. *THOROWGOOD*.

Concerning his conjecture that the Americans are deſcended from the Iſraelites.

With the Hiſtory of a Portugall Iew, *Antonie Monterinos*, atteſted by *Manaſſeh Ben Iſrael*, to the ſame effect.

SIR,

I Am bound to thank you for the communication of your booke, which I have read with a great deale of delight and ſatisfaction; for the rarity of the ſubject, and the variety of your obſervations thereupon, which you have deduced with as much probability to make out your theme, as Hiſtory can afford matter: I did ſhew it to another friend of great judgement and ingenuity, who was ſo taken with it, that he ſaid he would have it to be coppied out at his coſt, if you would not publiſh it to the world, which hee and I have reſol-

ved to importune you to doe: for although at first blush, the thing which you offer to be believed, will seeme to most men incredible, and extravigant; yet when all things are laid rationally and without prejudice together, there will be nothing of improbability found therein, which will not be swallowed up with the appearance of contrary likelyhoods, of things possible and lately attested by some to be truths: whereof to confirme your probable conjectures, I shall give you that information which is come to my hands at severall times in these late yeares, which you, (if you shall thinke fit) may publish to the world, as I have received them, which to the probability of your conjectures adde so much light, that if the things which I shall relate be not meere fictions (which I assure you are none of mine, for you shall have them without any addition, as I have received them) none can make any further scruple of the truth of your assertion; but before I come to particulars, I shall tell you of some thoughts which are come upon this occasion into my minde, concerning Gods way of dealing with mens spirits for the manifestation of his truth and wisdome to those that seeke after it; and concerning the wonderfull contrivances by which he brings his counsell to passe beyond all mens thoughts: I have observed, and every one that will take notice must needs perceive, that the spirits of men in reference to spiritual matters, whether divine or humane (by humane, I meane all matters of science and industry depending upon judgement and sagacity) are distinguishable into two kinds, the one are stedfast to some principles, and the other are unstable; this distinction in divine matters is clear, from 2 *Pet.* 3. 17. *Jude*, ver. 3, 4, 6, 12, 13, 17, 18, 20, 21. and in humane matters wee need none other proofe but daily experience. Againe, these that are stedfast to their principles, will be found of two sorts; some are led in an ordinary common way and rest therein, admitting of nothing further then what they have attained unto; some (though they doe not undervalue the ordinary waies which in their owne kinds are usefull and necessary, yet they) aspire to something more then ordinary and rest not where they are, they believe that both in humane and divine matters, there is, as long as we are in this life, a *plus ultra*, and that we never ought

to

to reſt in ſeeking after the advancement of learning and the increaſe of knowledge, till wee ſhall come to ſee the Father of lights face to face; the different inclinations of theſe three ſorts of men in the world, leading them to different courſes and ſtraines in their proceedings, and theſe begetting divers encounters amongſt them wherein they diſagree, and know not how to right matters towards one another for mutuall content and edification, are the cauſes of all our ſtrife and confuſion in all affaires, as well of Religious as of civill concernment; nor is it poſſible to be free from the diſorders and diſtempers, which make the life of mankinde uncomfortable in this kind, and full of vexation, till God hath removed thoſe that fall away from their owne ſtedfaſtneſſe out of the earth, which will not come to paſſe till hee hath *filled the earth with the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the ſea*; till hee hath brought us all that are ſtedfaſt unto true principles, and that walke by rules, *unto the unity of the faith and knowledge of the ſonne of God, unto a perfect man unto the meaſure of the ſtature of the fulneſſe of Chriſt*: which things becauſe they are clearely promiſed, wee may expect ſhall come to paſſe, but till then we ſhall be carried differently about with ſeverall winds of doctrine, and enſnared in our owne ignorance by the cunning craftineſſe of men who lie in waite to deceive; for the unſtable are either wickedly ſet to worke changes upon thoſe that are ſetled for ends of their owne, or weakely carried up and downe through the uncertaine apprehenſions of things differently repreſented unto them, ſometimes one way and ſometimes another; ſo that between the motions of mens ſpirits ſubtilly unſtable tending to unſettle others, and weakely ſtable ſuſceptible of any unſettlement from others, all our changes and diſorderly carriages, both in divine and humane affaires doe ariſe; when either thoſe that have no principles of truth to walke by, ſtudy lies to puzzle thoſe that pretend to walke by rules, or thoſe that have true principles vary from one another in their degrees of underſtanding, and in their manner of applying the ſame to advance knowledge, and to make diſcoveries of Gods manifeſtation of himſelfe; for as theſe motions meet with one another in oppoſite courſes, and men led thereby, ſtand by one another

Eſa. 11. 9.

Eph. 4 13.

Eph. 4. 14.

in disproportionat frames, or justle one another out of their places for contrary ends; so all our confusions and revolutions of Churches and States, and therein of scientificall straines, and of practicall undertakings, arise differently in the world: here then is a threefold diversity in acting, the changeable and moveable disposition of the one sort, is made to try the stability of the other two, and those that are setled in an ordinary way, are tryers to those that are led forth to something that is extraordinary; and those that upon allowed principles do rationally bring forth something more then ordinary, try the ingenuity of the other two, how farre they love truth for it selfe; So that each of these puts his neighbour to the triall of his property, and constraines him to manifest the nature of his way, how farre it is, or is not from God: And although every thing which is beyond the ordinary straine, is liable to be censured and contradicted by men of ordinary apprehensions, who condemne for the most part as extravagant and ridiculous whatsoever is not levell with their capacities; yet I am inclined to believe, that there is alwaies something of God in all men, that are led forth by extraordinary motions, namely when their spirits doe not reject the common true principles, and yet are raised above them, to apprehend conclusions and inferences which are not common; and when their affections are regularly constant to their workes, and their undertakings pursued with sobriety in the feare of God, then I conceive that God hath put upon them a speciall stampe and character of his vertue, by which he doth fit them for some designe and service whereunto he hath raised them. I have observed this in very many men of publike spirits, most commonly they have bin laught at by others for going out of the common road-way of acting; whether to make good some opinions, which others never dreamt of, or to doe some businesse which others have thought impossibilities to be effected; (I say) I have observed, that when they have been led forth with modesty, without selfe conceitednesse and vanity, and when they have prosecuted their enterprises with remarkable perseverance, that God hath made them one way or other remarkably instrumentall and usefull towards their generation for the advancement of his worke,

which

which is the reformation of this world, and the reſtauration of all things by the kingdom of Ieſus Chriſt, whereunto all extraordinary gifts, and the unuſuall leadings forth of mens ſpirits are preparatives. I could inſtance in ſeverall men which I have known, and doe know abroad and at home, of ſeverall profeſſions, whoſe ſtudies and endeavours have been lookt upon as whimſies and extravagancies by the road-way-men of that profeſſion; and yet I am perſwaded that they are led and acted by that Spirit which leadeth the children of God in all truth; and becauſe other men otherwiſe rationall and obſervant, (who though not altogether deſtitute of the ſpirit, yet are not raiſed above the ordinary pitch) do not know the drift of the ſpirit of theſe; therefore theſe are lookt upon by them as men of odde conceits: I have ſeen ſome of the great Rabbies of our times, heretofore much ſcandalized at the propoſals and undertakings of Mr *Comenius*; but it hath pleaſed God to aſſiſt him ſo with grace, and ſupport him with conſtancy in his way, notwithſtanding many trialls and temptations; that he hath been able during his owne life, to ſee the uſefulneſſe of ſome of his endeavours, whereof a more full account will be given to the world very ſhortly. I could ſpeake of others, whoſe attempts, though not ſo apparantly ſucceſſefull during their life, yet no leſſe uſefull in their kind, and which in due time, will prove the grounds of great advantages and diſcoveries unto poſterity, although in the generation where their lot is fallen to live, they have not been believed nor received. Gods way to diſpence grace is not according to outward appearances, and for this cauſe, the multitude doth not entertaine the inſtruments thereof with due eſteem, nor the meanes by which it is offered to the world with reſpect, becauſe they come in a homely dreſſe, and without the affectation of any ſhew; nevertheleſſe wiſdom at all times is juſtified by her children, and there take notice of her paths, and trace the counſell of God therein, for they can ſee that Gods waies and counſels reach from end to end, and that he comprehends in his aime both that which is paſt, and that which is preſent, and that which is to come in future ages; ſo that in the concluſion of all, he will make it appeare, that the unuſuall motions of his ſervants, which the world have

diſeſteemed and counted fooliſhneſſe, have been the extraordinary worke of his Spirit in them, whereby he doth convince the world of ſinne, of righteouſneſſe, of judgement: of ſinne, becauſe the teſtimony which they bore to the truth was not received; of righteouſneſſe, becauſe they who ſerved their generation faithfully with the righteous uſe of their talent in the midſt of ſcorners, are juſtly taken away from an unthankfull generation and the evill day, to reſt from their labours, that their workes may follow them; and of judgement, becauſe the ſelfe conceited pride and partiality of the wiſe and prudent of this world, ſhall be judged and condemned by the worke of his ſpirit, when he ſnall bring all the effects thereof together to make out his compleate deſigne againſt the world, and by the conjunction of the ſeemingly ſcattered parts which his ſervants have acted upon their ſtages, produce the new frame of a perfect Scene, the cataſtrophe whereof ſhall make up a building fit for the kingdom of his Son.

I am fallen upon theſe thoughts, and acquaint you thus with them, partly to ſupport mine owne ſpirit againſt the contradictions which I meet withall in the way wherein God hath ſet me, for the conſtant proſecution of peace and truth without partiality amongſt my brethren; partly to apologize for the drift of your ſpirit, whereby I perceive you have been led theſe many yeares in ſome of your ſtudies; for it is very evident to me, that you have ſought after a matter, which to moſt men will ſeem incredible, rediculous and extravagant; and to tell you the truth, before I had read your diſcourſe and ſeriouſly weighed matters, when I thought upon your theme, that the Americans ſhould be of the ſeed of Iſraell, it ſeemed to me ſomewhat ſtrange and unlikely to have any truth in it; but afterward when I had weighed your deduction of the matter, and lookt ſeriouſly upon Gods hand in bringing into thoſe parts of the World where the Americans are, ſo many religious profeſſors, zealous for the advancement of his glory, and who are poſſeſſed with a beliefe from the Scriptures, that all the Tribes of Iſraell ſhall be called to the knowledge of Jeſus Chriſt, before the the end of the world: and when I had recollected and laid together ſome other ſcattered and confuſed thoughts

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which at ſeveral times I have received, partly from the places of Scripture, which foretell the calling of the Jewes, and their reſtitution to their owne land, together with the bringing back of the ten Tribes from all the ends and corners of the earth, partly from ſome relations which I had heard a few yeeres agoe concerning the ten Tribes, which the Jewes here in *Europe* had given out; and partly from the obſervations of Gods way, which he ſeemes to make by all theſe changes, and the diſſolution of the States and Empires of the world, towards ſome great worke, and extraordinary revolution which may ſhortly come to paſſe: all which things when I had called to mind and repreſented unto my ſelfe, I was ſo far from derogating any thing from that which you have conjectured concerning the American Indians; that I beganne to ſtand amazed at the appearances of the probabilities which ſo many waies offered themſelves unto me, to make out and confirme the effect of that which you have ſaid: And then I begun alſo upon another account, to wonder at the ſtrangeneſſe of Gods conduct over your ſpirit, that he ſhould have ſet you a worke twelve or more yeeres agoe, after the ſearch of ſuch a matter, by hiſtoricall obſervations, whereof then ſo few, and almoſt no foot-ſteps at all were extant to be traced, and whereof now, of a ſuddaine, the world is like to be filled with ſuch evidences, that it wil be an aſtoniſhment to all that ſhall heare of it, and lay it to heart; and that all who have any ingenuity will be conſtrained to confeſſe, that indeed there is a God who ruleth in the earth, and that he hath ordered the affaires of the Nations by an univerſal providence, to bring to paſſe his own counſels, and that the things which hee hath revealed by his word, ſhould in the latter times be accompliſhed; for to my apprehenſion, this will be the great benefit of theſe diſcoveries; namely, that the mouths of Atheiſts will be ſtopped, and convicted of irrationality and fooliſhneſſe: For when it ſhall appear to all men undeniably, that the tranſmigration of Nations, and the affaires of this world, have not been carried hitherto by meere chance, or by the craftineſſe of humane counſels, or by force; but by the wiſdome of a Supreame conduct, who hath ordered all things from the beginning towards an end which hath been

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foreknown, and to a deſigne foretold. (I ſay) when this ſhall appeare, and that in the midſt of all theſe changes and confuſions, there is a conduct over-ruling the force of man, and diſappointing the councels of the crafty; then the eyes of all men will be upon the Lord, and God alone will bee exalted in righteouſneſſe, and the Holy one of Iſraell in judgement: For ſeeing it is evident that the ten Tribes of Iſraell have been as it were loſt in the world neare about the ſpace of two thuuſand yeeres, if now they ſhould againe appeare upon the ſtage, firſt as it were in another world by themſelves, and then afterward ſpeedily come from thence hither to the land of their ancient inheritance, where they ſhall be joyned to their brethren the Jews (which is clearly foretold by the Prophets ſhall come to paſſe) if (I ſay) thoſe things ſhould now begin to come to paſſe, what can all the world ſay otherwiſe, but that the Lords counſell doth ſtand, and that he hath fulfilled the words ſpoken by his Servants the Prophets concerning Iſrael; that although all the ſinfull kingdoms of the Nations ſhall be deſtroyed from off the face of the earth, yet that the houſe of *Jacob* ſhall not be utterly deſtroyed, but ſhall be corrected in meaſure, *for loe I will command* (ſaith God by the Prophet) *and I will ſift the houſe of Iſraell among all Nations, like as corne is ſifted in the ſieve, yet ſhall not the leaſt graine fall upon the earth.* Theſe Prophecies muſt needs be fulfilled, if there be a God in heaven who hath foretold them, and when he ſhall make this his word good unto Iſraell, he will thereby make it undeniably apparent, that it was he himſelfe and none other who did foretell it; and that it is alſo none but hee who brings the worke about beyond all humane appearances, according as he did foretell it: and by all this he will ſhew to all the world, that which he oft-times repeates by the Prophet *Iſaiah*, that he alone is the Saviour, and that there is none beſides him, *Iſa.* 45. 5, 6, 15. *till the end.* The deſtruction then of the ſpirituall *Babylon* by the reſtauration of Iſrael, ſhall make out this to all the earth, that God alone is the Lord over all, and the Saviour of the people that put their truſt in his name.

Iſa. 2.
Ezec. 34 & 37.
Jer. 3c. & 46.
Amos. 9.
Micha 4 &c.
Jer. 30. 10, 11.
Amos, 9 8, 9.

Now the appearances which offer themſelves unto me, that theſe Prophecies are towards their accompliſhment, are many,

many, which now I ſhall not inſiſt upon, (perhaps God will direct me to declare them in due ſeaſon more fully then now I can intend) but I ſhall onely mention that which I find to be a confirmation of your conjecture, leaving it to your owne diſcretion, what uſe you will make of it.

Firſt then I ſhall impart unto you ſome ſtories which I heard five or ſix yeeres agoe, when I was in the Low Countries, concerning the ten Tribes; and then I ſhall adde ſome information concerning the ſtate of the Iewes in our Europæan and Aſiatique worlds, which I have learned at other times by ſome providences which God hath offered unto mee; and upon the whole matter I ſhall leave you to your further conjectures, by that which I ſhall gueſſe at.

The firſt ſtory which I heard was at the *Hague*, a perſon of chief quality about the Queen of *Bohemia*, and one of her Counſell, and a diſcerning godly man, and my ſpeciall friend told me, that the Jew (a Jeweller reſiding ordinarily at the *Hague*) whom I knew, had been there at Court, and with great joy had told, that they of his Nation had received from *Conſtantinople* Letters, bringing to them glad tidings of two ſpeciall matters fallen out there; the one was, that the Grand Seignior had remitted the great taxes which formerly had been laid upon the Jewes of thoſe parts, ſo that now they were in a manner free from all burthens, paying but a ſmall and inconſiderable matter to that Empire; the other was, that a meſſenger was come unto the Jewes who reſide neere about the Holy Land, from the ten Tribes, to make enquiry concerning the ſtate of the Land; and what was become of the two Tribes and the half which was left in it, when they were tranſported from thence by *Salmanaſſer*. This Meſſenger was deſcribed to be a grave man, having ſome attendance in good equipage about him. He told them that the people from which hee was ſent were the Tribes of Iſrael, which in the daies of *Hoſea* the King, were carried captives out of their owne Land by the King of *Aſſyria*, who tranſported them from *Samaria* into *Aſſyria* and the Cities of the Medes; but they being grieved for the tranſgreſſions which cauſed God to be angry with them, they tooke a reſolution to ſeparate themſelves from all Idolaters, and

2 King. 17.

ſo went from the Heathen where they were placed by *Salmanaſſar*, with a reſolution to live by themſelves, and obſerve the Commandements of God, which in their owne Land they had not obſerved: in proſecuting this reſolution, after a long journey of a yeere and ſix moneths, they came to a countrey wholly deſtitute of inhabitants, where now they have increaſed into a great Nation, and are to come from thence into their owne Land by the direction of God; and to ſhew them that hee was a true Iſraelite, hee had brought with him a Scroule of the Law of *Moſes*, written according to their cuſtome.

The Gentleman who told me this ſtory, as from the mouth of the Jew, ſaid that it brought to his mind fully (by reaſon of the agreement of circumſtances almoſt in all things) the ſtory which is recorded in the Second Booke of *Eſdras*, which is called Apocrypha, Chap. 13. ver. 40. till 50. which will be found a truth if that Meſſenger came and made this Narrative. This was the firſt ſtory; and not long after *viz.* Within the ſpace of five or ſix moneths, a little before I came from the Low Countries, I was told of a Jew who came from *America* to *Amſterdam*, and brought to the Jewes reſiding there, newes concerning the ten Tribes; that hee had been with them upon the border of their Land, and had converſed with ſome of them for a ſhort ſpace, and ſeen and heard remarkable things whiles he ſtayed with them, whereof then I could not learn the true particulars; but I heard that a Narrative was made in writing of that which he had related, which before I went from *Holland* laſt, I had no time to ſeeke after, but ſince the reading of your Booke, and ſome diſcourſe I have had with you about theſe matters, I have procured it from the Low Countries, and received a Copie thereof in French, atteſted under *Manaſſeh Ben Iſrael* his hand, that it doth exactly agree with the originall, as it was ſent me, the tranſlation thereof I have truly made without adding or taking away any thing; and becauſe I was not ſatisfied in ſome things, and deſired to know how farre the whole matter was believed among the Jewes at *Amſterdam*, I wrote to *Manaſſeh Ben Iſrael*, their chiefe Rabbi, about it, and his anſwer I have gotten

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in two Letters, telling me that by the occaſion of the Queſtions which I propoſed unto him concerning this adjoyned Narrative of Mr. *Antonie Monterinos*, hee to give me ſatisfaction, had written inſteed of a Letter, a Treatiſe, which hee ſhortly would publiſh, and whereof I ſhould receive ſo many Copies as I ſhould deſire: In his firſt Letter dated *Novem.* laſt, 25. he ſaies that in his treatiſe he handles of the firſt inhabitants of *America*, which he believes were of the ten Tribes; moreover, that they are ſcattered alſo in other Countries, which he names, and that they keepe their true Religion, as hoping to returne againe into the Holy land in due time.

This narrative ſo atteſted and tranſlated, is at the end of this Book.

In his ſecond Letter, dated the twenty three of *December*, he ſaies more diſtinctly thus: I declare how that our Iſraelites were the firſt finders out of *America*; not regarding the opinions of other men, which I thought good to refute in few words onely: and I thinke that the ten Tribes live not onely there, but alſo in other lands ſcattered every where; theſe never did come backe to the ſecond Temple, and they keep till this day ſtill the Jewiſh Religion, ſeeing all the Prophecies which ſpeake of their bringing backe unto their native Soile muſt be fulfilled: So then at their appointed time, all the Tribes ſhall meet from all the parts of the world into two provinces, namely *Aſſyria* and *Egypt*, nor ſhall their Kingdome be any more divided, but they ſhall have one Prince the Meſſiah the Sonne of *David*. I do alſo ſet forth the Inquiſition of *Spaine*, and rehearſe divers of our Nation, and alſo of Chriſtians, Martyrs, who in our times have ſuffered ſeverall ſorts of torments, and then having ſhewed with what great honours our Jewes have been graced alſo by ſeverall Princes who profeſſe Chriſtianity. I prove at large, that the day of the promiſed Meſſiah unto us doth draw neer, upon which occaſion I explaine many Prophecies, &c.

By all which you ſee his full agreement with your conjecture concerning the Americans, that they are deſcended of the Hebrewes: when his booke comes to my hand, you ſhall have it God willing.

In the meane time I ſhall adde ſome of my conjectures concerning the Jewes which live on this ſide of the world with us in *Europe* and *Aſia*; theſe are of two ſorts or Sects, the one is

of Pharisees, the other of Caraits, the Pharisees in *Europe* and *Asia* are in number farre beyond the Caraits, they differ from one another whereſoever they are, as Proteſtants doe from Papiſts; for the Pharisees, as the Papiſts, attribute more to the Authoritie and traditions of their Rabbies and Fathers, then to the word of God; but the Caraits will receive nothing for a rule of faith and obedience but what is delivered from the word of God immediately: and their name imports their profeſſion, that they are readers of the Text, or Textuaries, for ſo the word מקר you know when it relates to bookes and writings, is to be rendred. Theſe two Sects are irreconcilably oppoſite to each other, and as the Papiſts deale with Proteſtants, ſo do the Pharisees with the Caraits, they perſecute and ſuppres them and their profeſſion by all the meanes they can poſſibly make uſe of: Nay as Mr *Ritangle* (of whom I have all the informations which I know concerning the Caraits) tels me, the hatred of the Pharisees is ſo fierce againſt their oppoſites the Caraits, that they have Anathematized them ſo, as never to be reconciled unto them; inſomuch, that it is counted unlawfull ſo much as to ſpeake to any of them, or to any that belongeth unto them, but at the diſtance of foure cubits at leaſt; their Bookes and all things belonging to them, are avoided as things abominable and to be abhorred; nor will the Pharisees, although the Caraits ſhould become penitent, and deſire to be joyned to their Congregations, and renounce their owne way, admit of them as a Caraite reconciled unto them: but the Caraite muſt firſt become a Chriſtian, a Mahumetan, or an Idolater, before he can be admitted to joyne with them, that it may never bee ſaid that a Phariſee was reconciled to a Caraite, or that a Caraite is become a Phariſee. As their principles and affections are thus different, ſo are their opinions, and the courſe of their life extremely oppoſite; the Pharisees are full of ſuperſtitious imaginary fooliſh conceits, and thalmudicall queſtions and nicities in their Sermons and Bookes; the Caraits are rationall men that take up no doctrines but what the Scriptures teach, by comparing one text with another: The Pharisees have wild and extravagant fancies concerning the Meſſiah and his reigne; but the Caraits have true grounds of ſpirituall and raiſed thoughts con-

concerning the Meſſiah and his Kingdome, little different from that which the better ſort of Chriſtians truly believe, and profeſſe of theſe miſteries. The Phariſees in their Sermons inſiſt upon nothing but their traditions and ceremonies, and fooliſh curioſities; but the Caraits inſiſt onely upon neceſſary and profitable duties, teaching the way of Godlineſſe and honeſty, to bring men from the outward forme to the inward power and ſpirituall performance of divine worſhip.

As concerning their courſe of life, the Phariſees live every where by a way of trading & uſury, which is deſtructive to thoſe with whom they have commerce; but the Caraits abhor that way, as peſtilent unto humane ſocieties, and betake themſelves to trades, and manufactures, to become husbandmen, and ſervants in the places where they live, and to ſerve as Souldiers under the Magiſtrate, who doth protect them.

This being the ſtate and difference of theſe two Sects, (as he who in *Aſia* and ſome part of *Europe* hath been above twenty yeers converſant with them, and a Doctor in their Synagogues, hath informed me) I ſhall acquaint you with my Conjectures concerning the event of our preſent troubles in the world over all, and the revolution of the Jewiſh ſtate, which are theſe; that it is not unlikely to me that the iſſue and effect of theſe changes which now are wrought, and afoot to bee wrought in the world, (wherein the higheſt powers are ſhaken, and a generall diſtreſſe is brought upon all the Nations of the earth) will be a breaking of the yokes of tyranny and oppreſſion, under which not onely the Jewes every where groan, but with them moſt of the Gentiles, or rather all of them that are under an arbitrary power of abſolute Potentates, and ſuperſtitious ſelfe-ſeeking teachers; that the breaking of theſe yokes is already a great way advanced. Firſt, in the Eaſterne *China* Empire by the invaſion of the Tartarians. Secondly, in the Northerne and Eaſterne Mahometane Empire, by the changes brought upon, and likely to fall out in the *Ottoman* houſe and line; and by the liberty which of late hath been granted to the Jewes, not onely from taxes, bnt of repairing to *Jeruſalem*, and having Synagogues there, which heretofore was utterly prohibited. Thirdly, in the Weſterne, which is called the Ro-

man or German Empire, by theſe late troubles, and the aſſiſtance which the King of the *North* the Swede, hath given to Proteſtants to maintaine their liberty : All the power of theſe yokes muſt yet further be broken in the Supreame and Subordinate Miniſters thereof; in reſpect of the whole bodies of theſe Empires, and of the particular Kingdomes and States which reſort under the ſame; for all Nations by the light of naturall reaſon, but chiefely thoſe, whom the Goſpel hath enlightned, and prepared in a meaſure, to apprehend the hope of the glorious liberty of the Sonnes of God, will more and more every where reſent their priviledge and right to a freedome, from which they have been reſtrained, by the miſtery of iniquity in ſpirituall and corporall matters; and when the grounds of righteous order, of impartiall love to mankinde, and of common preſervation, ſhall breake forth at laſt, and be taken notice of in the midſt of theſe confuſions and great troubles which fall upon all ſorts of men; then the Jewes will come and appeare in their owne ranke, and for their own intereſt, they will by others be reſpected; for their intereſt will be upon the diſſolution of the Mahometan, to reſiſt and oppoſe the Spaniſh Monarchy, that it may not propagate it ſelfe Eaſtward, and Southward, beyond the Mediterranean Sea; and that the Inquiſition by which they have been ſo cruelly perſecuted, may be every where aboliſhed; but above all things, kept out of the holy Land and their beloved City *Jeruſalem* : If then there ſhould be any tranſactions (as it is ſaid there is like to be) between the *Ottoman* houſe and the houſe of *Spaine* about the Holy Land, the Jewes who are now at ſome liberty there, and begin from all parts of the Earth to lift up their eyes to looke thitherward, will quickely reſent it, and finde their intereſt to be the enjoyment of their owne inheritance; and to helpe them to it, they will finde aſſiſtance from all Chriſtians that are not ſlaves to ſuperſtition and tyranny, and that aſſiſtance and favour which by ſuch Chriſtians will be given them, may in Gods hand be a meanes to open the Phariſee his eyes, to ſee ſomewhat in Chriſtianity, from which he hath been hitherto blinded, by reaſon of the prejudice which the Idolatry of the Papall Sea, and the Spaniſh Inquiſition hath begotten in him. As for the Caraits, God

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hath ſo ordered it, that the greateſt bodies of them are in the Northerne parts of the World, by which the ten Tribes, if ever they come to the Holy Land, are like to come; there be ſome few in *Ruſſia*, ſome in *Conſtantinople*, ſome in *Alcair*, ſome in *Perſia*, and ſome in other places of *Aſia* and of *Africa*; but Mr *Ritangle* told me that their chiefe bodie is amongſt the Aſiatique and European Tartarians, who now appeare upon the ſtage as beginning to be conquerers. For beſides that which they doe fully poſſeſſe in *China*, they have taſted ſomewhat of a victorious progreſſe of late in *Poland*, and they are the next pretenders to the *Ottoman* Crowne, if the line faile, which is like to be: their riſing and diſſipation abroad from their owne centers to their circumferences towards neighbour Nations, will weaken them at home; and if then, when they are not ſtrong within their owne bounds, and by their invaſions have weakened their neighbours Southward on; God call the ten Tribes to march toward the place of their inheritance: the Caraits their brethren will be leaders of them on their way, and ſo their march may be, as *Manaſſeh Ben Iſrael* ſaith, to make their Rendezvous in *Aſſyria*; and on the other ſide, the Jewes that are Phariſees, may make their Rendezvous from *Arabia* and other neighbouring places, and out of all *Europe* into *Egypt*; that ſo when the Shunamite ſhall returne (as it is ſaid in the *Canticles*, chap. 6. ver. 13.) the world may looke upon her, and may ſee in her *the company of two Armies*, which both ſhall look towards *Jeruſalem*. Then will the great battaile of Harmageddon be fought, whereunto all theſe troubles and changes are but preparatives: then ſhall the ſword of the Spirit, the word of God, prevaile mightily over the ſpirits of all men; the two edges thereof on the right hand and on the left, will cut ſharpe, and pierce to the dividing aſunder of ſoule and ſpirit, and of the joynts and marrow, and to the diſcerning of the thoughts and intentions of the heart: and when this ſword ſhall be thus powerfull in the hands of his Saints, (the true Proteſtants with the one troope, and the true Caraits with the other) then ſhall be fulfilled the Prophecie of the Pſalmiſt, that vengeance ſhall be executed upon the Heathen, and puniſhments upon the people; that their Kings ſhall be bound with Pſa. 149 7,8,9.

chains

chaines, and their Nobles with fetters of iron; and that the honour due to all Saints ſhall be given them, to be made executioners of the judgement written in the word of God againſt them. We know not how neare theſe things are at hand, let us therefore be watchfull, and put on the armour of light, to be ready, when the Bridegroome comes, to goe with him in our wedding garment, having our lamps burning, and proviſion of oile, into the wedding chamber. And to this effect, the Lord teach us to be diligent, to be found of him in peace, without ſpot and blameleſſe, that in the midſt of theſe fightings and confuſions, we may not be found as many are, ſmiting their fellow ſervants, eating and drinking largely of the ſpoile of thoſe that are ſpoiled, and being drunken with the paſſions of malice, entertained for the revenge of injuries, or of covetouſneſſe and ambition, proſecuted for ſelf-intereſts: and with this prayer I ſhall commend you to the grace of God, and reſt,

Your faithfull friend and

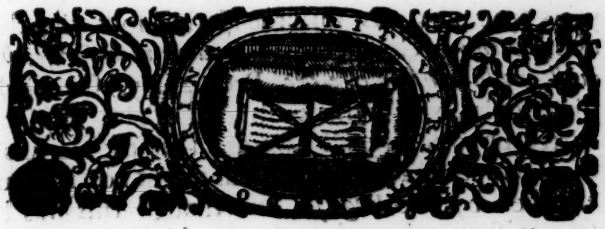
fellow labourer in

the Goſpel of Chriſt.

St Iames, *this*
27 Ian.
1649.

50.

J. Durr.



Iewes in America,

OR,

Probabilities that the *Americans* are *Jewes.*

CHAP. I.

IT hath been much, and many times, in severall mens thoughts, what Genius devoted our Countreymen so willingly to forsake their Friends, and Nation, exposing themselves by voyages long and perilous to so many inconveniences, as are to be encountred with by Strangers in a forraigne and unchristian land; some were hastened by their dislike of Church Government; other perhaps were in hope to enrich themselves by such Adventures; and 'tis like, divers of them did

foreſee thoſe Epidemicall Calamities, now for ſo many years oppreſſing this forlorne Nation, following thereupon *Solomons* Counſell, *A prudent man foreſeeth the evill, and hideth himſelfe, &c.* Prov. 22. 5. Or elſe thoſe pious ſoules by a divine inſtinct, might happily bee ſtirred up to deſpiſe all hazards, that the Natives for their temporall accommodations might bee ſpiritually enriched by the *Engliſh*, and though this was little ſeen at firſt in the endeavours, at leaſt the ſucceſſe of many gone thither, yet who can tell but ſupreme Providence might then diſpoſe mens hearts that way, themſelves not diſcerning that influence; even as *Cyrus* promoted the cauſe of the Jewes, he knew not why, nor whence, *Eſa.* 45. 4, 5. Upon confidence that the Goſpell of Chriſt ſhall be reveal ed in the midſt of that yet moſt Barbarous Nation, the next deſire was, if poſſible, to learne the Originall of the Americans, and by obſervations from Printed Books, and written Letters, and by Diſcourſe with ſome that had travelled to, and abode in thoſe parts ſeverall years, the probability of that opinion as yet præponderates, that the Weſterne Indians be of Jewiſh race. (a) *R. Verſtegan* proves the Saxons to be Germans, becauſe their ſpeech is alike, the names of perſons and things ſometimes agree, and the Idols of them both are not different; *Bodine* (b) mentioneth 3 Arguments (b), by which the beginnings of People are diſcoverable, the faire and true dealing of Hiſtorians, the comparing of Language, with the deſcription of the Countrey, ſuch helps have aſſiſted alſo in this enquiry: *Grotius* (c) conceiveth theſe Americans to have come out of Europe, paſſing from Norway into Iſeland, thence by Frieſland into Greenland, and ſo into Eſtotiland, which is part of that Weſtern Continent,

a *Reſtitut. c. 2.*

b *Met. Hiſt. c. 9.*

c *Diſſertat. de Orig. Gent. Americ.*

Continent, hee is induced to that opinion from the names and words of places and things in both ſounding alike: but *Io. de Laet* (*d*) abundantly diſproves this Conjecture, which yet the Governor of the Dutch Plantation (*e*) there told Mr. *Williams* was his judgement: Some others take them (*f*) to be a remnant of thoſe Canaanites that fled out of that Land when the feare of Iſrael approaching thither fell upon them, *Ioſh.* 2. 9. Others thinke (*g*) it moſt probable, that they are Tartars, paſſing out of Aſia into America by the ſtraights of *Anian*. *Emanuel de Moraes* (*h*) willingly believes them to be derived from the Carthaginians and Jewes; from which latter that they be deſcended, theſe following Conjectures are propounded to Conſideration.

d *Not. ad iſtam Diſſert.*
e Key of the Language of *Amer.* Pref.
f *Lerius Hiſt. Braſil.* p. 231.
g *Laet Deſcr. Americ.* Mr. *Gage.*
h *apud Laet in Grot. Diſſertat. Part.* 1. p. 216.

CHAP. II.

The firſt Conjecture that the Americans are Jewes.

THE Indians doe themſelves relate things of their Anceſtors, (*a*) ſuteable to what we read of the Jewes in the Bible, and elſewhere, which they alſo mentioned to the Spaniards at their firſt acceſſe thither; and here the Speech of *Myſtſilus* (*b*) occurred as obſervable: if we would know, ſaith hee, the Antiquity and Originall of a Nation, there is more credit to be given to the Natives and their Neighbors, than to ſtrangers, and *Caſar* (*c*) concluded the Britons to be Gaules, becauſe that was the affirmation of them both. P. *Martyr* (*d*) tells at large, how *Muteczuma* the great

a *Pet. Mart. Decad. aliiq.*
b *In Boroſt. l.* 6.
c *In Bodin. Meth.* p. 493.
d *Ib.* p. 353.

Mort. N. Canaan. p. 49. *Malvenda de Antich.* p. 155.

great King of *Mexico* in an Oration made to his Nobles and People, perſwading ſubjection to the King of Spaine, minds his Countrey-men, that they heard from their fore-fathers, how they were ſtrangers in that land, and by a great Prince very long agoe brought thither in a Fleet, They boaſt their Pedigree from men preſerved in the Sea by God himſelfe, that God made one man, and one woman, bidding them live together and multiply, and how in a Famine hee rained bread for them from Heaven, who in a time of drought alſo gave them Water out of a Rock: many other things, themſelves ſay were done for them, ſuch as the Scriptures relate concerning the Iſraelites at their comming out of Ægypt, as, their Peregrination many yeares, the Oracles they received, their Arke of Bulruſh, wherein *Vitzi-Liputzli* was included, of the Tabernacle the Ark (*e*) carried by foure Prieſts, and how they pitched their Tents according to its direction, and who ſeeth not ſaith *Malvenda* (*f*) much probability that the *Mexicans* are *Iewes*, how could they elſe report the manner of their comming into the promiſed Land; they affirme there is one chiefe God, who hath been from all eternity, by whom the leſſer Gods were made, who became Aſſiſtants in the Fabrick and Government of the World, as ſome of the (*g*) Rabbins alſo called the Angells Co-Creators with God, to whom the Lord did ſay, *Let us make man in our Image, &c. Gen.* 1. 26. The Indians judge the Sunne, Moone and Starres to be living creatures, a thing ſo avowed in the Jewiſh *Talmud* (*h*), ſhewing it to be *a thing* eaſie enough for the Heavens to declare the glory of God, *Pſalme* 19. 1. ſeeing they have underſtanding ſoules as well as men and Angels; they (*i*) ſay of themſelves, that they be ſtrangers, and came

e *Acoſta. Hiſt.* l. 7. c. 4.

f *Vbi ſupra.*

g *Aquin. in Gen.* 1.

h *Arr. ag. Br.* p. 343.

i *Pet. Mart.* p. 353.

came from another Countrey. *Moraes* (*k*) before named doth not onely averre that many learned men in *Brasile* take the Natives to be Jewes, but that they themselves, taught by a most ancient Tradition, acknowledge their fore-fathers to be of that linage; and *Peter Martyr* (*l*) hath from them also such a kinde of assertion: And now whereas some conceive the ten Tribes to be either shut up beyond the (*m*) Caspian Mountaines, whence they could not get out, though they begged leave of *Alexander* the Great, yet the way was made miraculously unpassable against them, as the same Comestor relateth: Others suppose (*n*) them to be utterly lost, and if once so, 'tis probable in the opinion of some that they are to be found in America; (*o*) *Acosta* acknowledgeth this to be the judgement of divers, to which he is not onely adverse himselfe, but endeavours to answer their Arguments, as will be shewd hereafter; to these conjectures of the Natives, let this Chapter bee concluded with the judgements of two others, that have reason for what they say, the first is (*p*) *Emanuel de Moraes*, forespoken of, affirming those of Brasile to be Judaicall: First, because those Brasilians marrie into their owne Tribe and Kindred. Secondly, Their Manner is also to call their Uncles and Ants, Fathers and Mothers. Thirdly, they are given much to mourning and teares in their Funerall solemnities: And last of all, they both have Garments much alike. The next is Master (*q*) *R. Williams*, one of the first, if not the first of our Nation in New England that learned the Language, and so prepared towards the Conversion of the Natives, which purpose of his being knowne, hee was desired to observe if hee

k *Laet. in Grot.* p. 219.

l *ibid.*

m *Comestor Hist.* p. 137. & 169.

n *G. Sands. Trav.* p. 146.

o *Hist. l.* 1. c. 29.

p *Apud Io. de Laet. part.* 1. p. 217.

q Letter.

found any thing Judaicall among them, &c. He kindly answers to those Letters from *Salem* in New England, 20th of the 10th moneth, more than ten yeers since, in *hac verba*. Three things make me yet suspect, that the poore natives came from the southward, and are Jewes or Jewish *quodammodo*, and not from the Northern barbarous as some imagine. 1. Themselves constantly affirme that their Ancestors came from the southwest, and thither they all goe dying. 2. They constantly and strictly separate their women in a little Wigwam by themselves in their feminine seasons. 3. And beside their God Kuttand to the south-west, they hold that Nanawitnawit (a God over head) made the Heavens and the Earth, and some tast of affinity with the Hebrew I have found.

CHAP. III.

Second Conjecture.

THe rites, fashions, ceremonies, and opinions of the Americans are in many things agreeable to the custome of the Jewes, not onely prophane and common usages, but such as be called solemn and sacred.

Common and prophane Customes in both alike.

a *Acosta.* l. 1. c. 23.

1 The Indians (*a*) weare garments fashioned as the Jewes, a single coate, a square little cloake, they goe barefoot: if you should aske a man of *Brasile* what vestment would please him best, he would answer presently,

ly, (*b*) a long cloake the habit of the Jewes, and this may seem no light consideration to such as minde *Seneca's* (*c*) confidence, that the Spaniards planted themselves in *Italy*, for they have the same kind of covering on their heads, and shooes for their feet.

b *Lerius. Vbi supra.*
c *De consolat. ad Helvid. c. 8.*

2. They constantly (*d*) annoint their heads, as did the Jewes also, *Luk.* 7.46.

d Mr *Will. Key.* preface.

3. They doe not onely pride themselves with eare-rings (*e*) but their noses are bored also, and have jewells hanging on them, which they call Caricori, like that is read, *Esa.* 3. 20, 21.

e *Benzo.* p. 6. & 50. *Acosta.* l. 7. c. 17.

4. In all India (*f*) they wash themselves often, twice or thrice in the day, and the women in Brasile ten times saith *Lerius* (*g*) and the Jewes were frequent in this, *Mar.* 7. 3, 4. *Io.* 2. 6.

f *Benzo.* p. 193.
g *Id.* p. 94. 107

5. They delight exceedingly in dancing, (*h*) men and women, yea and women apart by themselves; and so they did in Israell. *Exod.* 13. 20. 1 *Sam.* 21. 11, 12. and thus especially after victories (*i*) and overthrows, of enemies, which is found also, *Ind.* 11. 34. *Ind.* 21. 21, 23. & 1 *Sam.* 18. 6, 7.

h *Id.* p. 107. 109
i *Nova Francia.* p. 221.

6. As the Jewes were wont to call them fathers and mothers, that were not their naturall parents, so (*k*) the Indians give the same appellation to Unkle and Aunts.

k *Jo. de Laet.* p. 217.

7. In America they eate no swines flesh (*l*) tis hatefull to them, as it was among the Jewes, *Levit.* 11. 7. *Esa.* 66. 15.

l Mr *Will. Key.* prospect of *N. E.* p. 95.

8. They wash (*m*) strangers feet, and are very hospitall to them, and this was the known commendation of old Israell.

m *Benzo.* p. 117 222. *Lerius.* p. 256. 258. *Laet* Descr. of *America.* p. 545.

9. The Indians compute their times by nights (*n*) an use which *Laet* (*o*) confesseth they had from the Hebrews; they

n *Lerius.* p. 225 *P. Mart.* p. 314. 478.
o *Nat in Grot.* p. 37.

they reckon by lunary rules, giving the same name to their moneths they do to the Moon, *Tuua*.

10. Virginity is not a state praise-worthy among the Americanes (*p*) and it was a bewaileable condition in *Iury*, *Iud.* 11.37.

11. The Natives (*q*) marry within their owne kindred and family, this was Gods command to his people, *Num.* 36. 7.

12. The Indian women (*r*) are easily delivered of their children, without Midwives, as those in *Exod.* 1. 19.

13. They wash their infants newly born (*s*) and this you finde also, *Ezek.* 16. 9.

14. In feminine seasons they put their women in a Wigwam by themselves, (*t*) for which they plead nature and tradition; another writes expresly such kind (*u*) of purification they have as had the Jewes.

15. The widdow marrieth (*w*) the brother of the deceased Husband, which was also *Moses* law, *Mat.* 22. 24.

16. Dowries for wives are given (*x*) by the Indians, as *Saul* enjoyned *David*, 2 *Sam.* 18. 25.

17. The husband hath power (*y*) over the adulterous wife, to turne her away with disgrace, they have also other causes of divorce, as was in *Israel*, *Mat.* 8. 19.

18. They nurse their owne children, (*z*) even the Queenes in *Peru*, and so did the mothers in Israel.

19. The husbands come not at their wives till their children be weaned, (*a*) such an use is read *Hos.* 1. 8. and at *Peru* if they be forced to weane them before their time, they call such children Ainsco, *i.* e. bastards.

20. Among the Indians (*b*) they punish by beating, and

p *Acosta.* p. 570

q *Id.* p. 569. *Lact.* p. 327. and descrip. *Amer.* p. 470.

r Capt. *Smith.* p. 21. *Lact* Descr. *Amer.* p. 479.

s *Lerius.* p. 236.

t Mr *Will. Key* pref. p. 7. &

u *Nova Fran.* p. 236.

w P. *Mart.* p. 5[illegible].

x Mr *Will. Key.*

y *Lerius.* p. 234 *Acosta.* l. 5. c. 27

z Mr *Will. Key.* p. 46. *Lact* desc. of *Amer.* p. 479.

a *Lerius* p. 236.

b Mr *Will. Key.* p. 239.

and whipping, and the Sachims if they please, put offendors to death with their owne hands, and secretly sometimes send out an executioner, as *Mark* 6. 27. 2 *Cor.* 11. 25.

21. If a Brasilian wound another, (*c*) he must be punisht in the same part of his body, and with death, if the other die, for they also answer an eye for an eye, &c. as the law was. *Deut.* 24. 19.

c *Lerius* p. 241.

22. When the master of the family dieth, he is buried in the middle of the house, (*d*) with his jewells, and other things he delighted in; the Spaniards were often made rich by such sepulchars, and *Iosephus* (*e*) tells of much treasure laid up even in *Davids* grave.

d *Benzo.* p. 168. 291. 39. *Acost.* l. 5. c. 8.
e *Antiq.* l. 7. c. 12.

23. The Indians are given much to weeping, (*f*) their women especially, and at burialls; this was in fashion among the Jewes. *Ier.* 19. 17. Famous for this they were among the old heathen.

f *Lerius.* p. 266. 267. *Benzo* 396 *Laet* de *Amer.* p. 545. 643.

24. *Balsamum* (*g*) was peculiar to the Jewish Countrey, and thought to be lost long agoe saith *Pliny*; (*h*) if it were, tis now found againe in America.

g *Benzo.* p. 222. *Acost.* l. 4. c. 28.
h l. 12. c. 15.

25. Their Princes and Governours whom they generally call Sachims, Sachmos, Sagamos, (*i*) are no other but heads of families, as it was of old in Israel. *Num.* 7. 2.

i *Laet* Deser. *Amer.* p. 75.

26. The Indians have their Posts (*k*) and Messengers that were swift of foot, whom they dispatcht upon their affaires, and they ran with speed, and such were among the Jewes. 2 *Sam.* 18. 24, 26, 27.

k *Acost.* l. 6. c. 10. 17.

CHAP. IV.

Sacred and ſolemne rites and cuſtomes alike.

A *Coſta* (*a*) affirmes the Americans to have ceremonies and cuſtomes reſembling the Moſaicall. 1. Circumciſion (*b*) is frequent among the Indians, which ſome not obſerving, have thereupon denyed them to be Judaicall, and *Io. de Laet* (*c*) is forced to acknowledge ſuch venereous people have ſomewhat like to circumciſion occaſioned by their laſciviouſneſſe; but daily (*d*) experience declareth that they have indeed upon them this Judaicall badge. *Herodotus* (*e*) averreth the Colchi for this to be of the Ægyptian race, and that the Phenicians and Syrians of Palæſtina learned from them that rite; and though ſome have judged the Tartars to be Jewes, becauſe circumciſed, others (*f*) yeeld not to this, becauſe they were Mahometans by Religion, and from them received that cuſtome; but theſe people have cut off their foreskinne time out of minde, and it cannot be conceived whence they had this ceremony, but that it is nationall. And though the fore mentioned (*g*) writer endeavours much to prove, that there is no circumciſion among them, and that ſome other people be ſo handled, whom none yet ever imagined to be Judaicall, but that of *Ier. 9. 26.* is not ſo fitly I thinke cited for his purpoſe; and *Grotius* tells him (*b*) confidently, we have ſo many witneſſes that the Americans be circumciſed, as it becomes not a modeſt man to deny it; and among the rarities brought from thoſe quarters, *Pancirollus* (*i*) ſpeakes of ſtony knives, very ſharpe and cutting,

a *Hiſt.* l 5. c. 27.

b *Id. de procur. Ind. Sal.* p. 6. 45

c *In Grot. part.* 1. p. 45.

d P. *Mart.* p. 175. 290. 293. 296. 300.

e l. 2. p. 143.

f Dr *Helin Geo.* p. 662. *Laet. ibid.* 127.

g *Id.* p. 128.

h *In Laet* p. 2. p. 59.

i *Tit.* 1. *de Noviter repet is*, *Cultellos Lapideos quidvis ſecante s.*

ting, and his Illustrator *(k) H. Salmuth*, shewes that the Jewes of old did use such in their circumcisings, knifes of stone, which Sacrament omitted fourty yeeres in their travell, is revived by Gods command to *Ioshua* 5.2. Make thee sharp knives, *cultros petrinos*; *Arias Montanus* reads, *cultros lapideos* in the vulgar Latine, but the *Septuagint* doth not only mention those rocky knives, but adds, taken from a sharpe rocke, as if the allusion also were to Christ, the Rocke, that doth circumcise our hearts; *Lerius (l)* affirmes he saw some of those cutting stones or knives at *Brasil*.

k p. 135.

l p. 191.

2. The Indians worship that God *(m)* they say, who created the Sun, Moon, and all invisible things, who gives them also all that is good.

m *Mart.* p. 524

3. They knew of that floud which drowned *(n)* the world, and that it was sent for the sin of man, especially for unlawfull lust, and that there shall never be such a deluge againe.

n *Id.* p. 444. *Lerius.* p. 220. *Acost.* l. 6. c. 19

4. It is affirmed by them *(o)* nevertheless that after many yeers, fire shall come down from above and consume all.

o *Id. de procur. Ind. Sal.* p. 68.

5. They beleeve the immortality of the soule, and that there is a place of joy, *(p)* another of torment after death, whither they shall goe that kill, lie, or steale, which place they call Popoguſſo, a great pit, like the expression, *Num.* 16. 33. and *Rev.* 19. 1, &c. but they which do no harme shall be received into a good place, and enjoy all manner of pleasure.

p *Benzo.* p. 396 Relation of Maryland. p. 33. Cap. *Smith. Lerius.* p. 223. *Acosta.* p. 345.

q Mr *Will. Key.* p. 100.

6. The Americans have in some parts an exact form of King, Priest, *(q)* and Prophet, as was aforetime in *Canaan*.

r *P. Mart.* p. 418. 473 521. 529 *Godwin* of the Esseni, in Jewish Antiqu. *Malvend. de Antichristo*, p. 153.

7. Priests are in some things among them, as with the Hebrewes, *(r)* Physitians, and not habited as other

men, and in *Tamazulapa* there be veſtments kept like thoſe Aaroniticall robes of the High-prieſt.

8. The Temples wherein they worſhip, (*f*) ſing, pray, and make their Offerings, are faſhioned and uſed as with the Jewes; at Mexico they were built foure ſquare, and ſumptuous, as *Ezek.* 40. 47.

f Capt. *Smith* p. 120. *Acoſta. l.* 5. *c.* 13.

9. The Prieſts have their Chambers (*t*) in the Temple, as the manner was in Iſrael. 1 *Reg.* 6. 5.

Pet Mart. p. 350.

t Id p 351.

10. They had places alſo therein (*u*), which none might enter into but their Prieſts. *Heb.* 9. 6, 7.

u Id. p. 314.

11. In their worſhip of *Viracoche* (*w*), and the Sun, &c. they open their hands, and make a kiſſing ſound with their mouthes, as *Iob* 31. 27.

w Acoſt. p. 339

12. They had almoſt continuall fire before their Idols, and took great care leſt the (*x*) fire before the Altar ſhould dye, they call that the Divine Harth, where there is fire continually, like that in *Leviticus* 6. 9.

x Id. l. 5. *c.* 16. 6. 24.

13. None may intermeddle with their Sacrifices but the Prieſts, (*y*) who were alſo in high eſtimation among them as they were among the Jewes.

y Id. l. 5. *c.* 14.

14. Every Noble-man in Mexico (*z*) had his Prieſt, as Iſrael had the Levites within their gates.

z Ibid. l. 5 *c.* 8.

15. In their neceſſities (*a*) they always ſacrificed, which done, they grew hopefull and confident.

a Pet. Mart.

16. They burnt Incenſe, (*b*) had their Cenſars, and cake Oblations, as *Ier.* 7. 18.

b Relat. Mar. Land. p. 169. *Acoſt.* 5. 16.

17. The firſt fruits of their Corne (*c*) they offered, and what they gat by Hunting and Fiſhing.

c Pet, Mart: p. 522. 351.

18. At Mexico and ſome other places (*d*) they immolate the bodies of men, and as the Jewes of old, ſaith *P. Martyr*, did eate of their Beaſts ſo ſacrificed, they feed on mans fleſh ſo offered.

d Ibid.

19. In

19. In all Peru they had but one Temple, (*e*) which was moſt ſumptuous, Conſecrated to the Maker of the world; yet they had foure other places alſo for Devotion, as the Jews had ſeverall Synagogues, beſide that their glorious Temple.

e *Lact. Deſcr. Amer.* p. 398. 434.

20. The Idols of America (*f*) were Mitred, in a manner, much as *Aaron* was.

f *Malvenda.* p. 169.

21. A yeare of Jubile (*g*) did they obſerve, as did Iſrael alſo.

g *Id. ibid. & Acoſt. Hiſt.* l. 5. c 29.

22. *Lerius* tells a ſtory of them, (*h*) much like that of Apocryphall *Bel*, and the Dragon, and his Prieſts.

h *Id.* p. 269.

23. In their Idoll ſervices they (*i*) dance and ſing, men and women, almoſt as *Miriam*, with Timbrells, *Exod.* 15. 20. and then they offer bread, as it is in *Malac.* 1. 7.

i *Benzo.* p. 113, 114. *cum tympano.*

24. They have hope of their bodies (*k*) reſurrection, and for that cauſe are carefull in burying their dead; and when they ſaw the Spaniards digging into Sepulchers for gold and ſilver, the Natives entreated them not to ſcatter the bones, that ſo they might with more eaſe be raiſed againe.

k *Cento ad Solin.* p. 256. *Benzo.* p. 403. and Hiſt. of Peru.

25. The Indians make account the world ſhall have an end, but not till a great drought come (*l*), and as it were a burning of the aire, when the Sunne and Moone ſhall faile, and loſe their ſhining; thence it is, that in the Eclipſes of thoſe two greater Lights, they make ſuch yellings and out-cries, as if the end of all things were upon them.

l *Benzo ubi ſup. & Solin. Cent. ibid.*

CHAP. V.

The third Conjecture.

THE Americans words and manners of ſpeech, bee in many things conſonant to thoſe of the Jewes, (a) *Seneca* hath that other reaſon, perſwading that the Spaniards planted in Italy, becauſe they both ſpeake alike; and as *Volaterrane* (b) for his Countreymen, ſo ſome ſuppoſe the Greeks long ſince mingled with the Brittans, becauſe we ſtill have divers words of Græcian Idiome. For this reaſon (c) *Cæſar* judged the Britiſh to bee Gauls, in that the Cities of both the Nations were called by the ſame names. *Giraldus Cambrenſis* derives his Countreymens Originall from *Troy*, becauſe they have ſo many Trojan names and words amongſt them; *Oenus*, *Reſus*, *Æneas*, *Hector*, *Ajax*, *Evander*, *Eliza*, &c. and *Grotius* (d) therefore imagines that the Americans came from Norway, becauſe they have many words the ſame with the Norwegians. It is then conſiderable to our purpoſe, how in this the Jewes and Indians be alike.

a *Idem genus calcamenti, & verba quædam. Vbi ſupra.*

b *l.* 30. p. 323.

c *Vbi ante.*

Deſcr. Cambr. p. 266.

d *In Laet. part.* 1. p. 30.

1. The aſpirations of the Americans have (e) the force of conſonants, and are pronounced by them not as the Latines and ſome other Nations, but after the manner of the Hebrewes.

e *Pet. Mart.* p. 248. *Laet. ibid.* p. 186.

2. The name of that great City *Mexico* (f) is obſerved in ſound and writing to come very neare unto that name of our deare Lord, *Pſalme* 2. 2. *Meſchico*, and *Mexico* in their Language is a (g) Spring, as of our Maſter and Meſſiah; *the day ſpring that from on high hath viſited us*. Luk. 1. 78.

f *Malvenda* p. 169.

g *Gag. Survey.* p. 46.

3. The

3. The *Ziims* mentioned *Esa.* 13. 21. and 34. 14. are (*h*) supposed to bee wicked Spirits, deluding Mankinde, as Hobgoblins, Fairies, &c. Such are the Zemes among the Indians so often spoken of by (*i*) *Peter Martyr*, these they call the Messengers of the great God; every King among them hath such a *Ziim* or *Zeme*, and from them came those Predictions constantly current among them, of a cover'd Nation that should spoyle their Rites.

h *Jerem in loc,*
i p. 88. 93, 94. &c.

4. *Acosta* marvailes much (*k*) at the Indians, that having some knowledge that there is a God, yet they call him not by any proper name, as not having any peculiar for him, a Relique it may be of that Judaicall conceit of the non-pronuntiable Tetragrammaton.

k *Hist.* l. 5. c. 3.

5. Tis very remarkable that *Escarbotus* (*l*) tells, how he heard the Indians often perfectly use the wvrd Hallelujah; at which hee marvailed the more, because hee could not at all perceive that they had learned it from any Christian; and this is with like admiration recorded (*m*) by the describer of *Nova Francia.*

l *Laet. Descr. Amer.* p. 53. 164.
m p. 164. 172.

6. In the Island of St. *Michael* or *Azores*, which belongs to America, saith (*n*) *Malvenda*, certaine Sepulchers, or Grave-stones are digged up by the Spaniards, with very ancient Hebrew Letters upon them, above and below, thus above, מחשם אל Why is God gone away; and beneath this Inscription שקלבת מתרע אל Hee is dead, know God, which words seem to have a woefull enquiry of Gods departure from them, with a comfortable Declaration of his dying for them, together with an incitation to know him.

n p. 154.

7. Very many of their words are like the Hebrew, which our *Novangles* (*o*) have observed, and in the general attested: A more serious disquisition into their Language

o Mr. *Will.* Key Pref of *N. E.* p. 91.

guage would conduce much to finde out their deſcent, and helpe exceedingly towards their Converſion; and if it be ſaid, the Jewes were ever tenacious of their Language, which (*p*) *Elias Levita* ſaith, they changed not in Ægypt, but if they be now in America, all in a manner is loſt. 'Tis fit then to conſider, that in all Nations, in two or three Ages there is a great alteration in their Tongues; the words of the League between the Carthaginians and Romans in fifty yeares ſpace, ſayth (*q*) *Polybius*, were ſo uncouth, and little knowne, that they could ſcarce bee underſtood; and (*r*) *Keckerman* ſheweth, (*r*) that the German language in almoſt as ſhort a time received the like mutation, and our Saxon Anceſtors tranſlated the Bible into Engliſh as the Tongue then was, but of ſuch antique Words and Writing, that few men now can read and underſtand it, which waxing old, and hard, it was againe Tranſlated into newer words, ſaith Arch-Biſhop (*ſ*) *Cranmer*, and many even of thoſe words are now ſtrange and neaſie to us; in ſuch ſuddaine Change of Language univerſally, wee need not wonder, that ſo little impreſſion of the Hebrew Tongue remaines among them, if the Indians be Jewiſh; but wee may marvaile rather, that after ſo many yeares of moſt groſſe and curſed blindneſſe, and having no commerce, nor converſe with other Nations, that any the leaſt ſimilitude thereof ſhould be left.

p Pref. to *Chaldean* Diction.

q *Bodin. Meth* p. 494.

r *Syſt. Phyſ.*

ſ Pref. to the old Engliſh Bible.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The ſixth Conjecture.

THis which followeth next, at firſt ſight, will appeare a Paradox rather than a Probability, that is Κυνοφαγία *Americanorum*, the Man-devouring that is in America; for what an inference may this ſeem to bee; there bee Carybes, Caniballs, and Man-eaters among them, therefore they be Jewiſh? But let it be conſidered, Among the Curſes threatned to Iſrael upon their diſobedience, wee read *Levit.* 26. 29. *Yee ſhall eate the fleſh of your Sonnes and of your Daughters, &c.* So *Deut.* 28 53. Which Predictions, according to common ſuppoſalls, ſeeme to be fully verified in the Famine mentioned, 2 *Kings* 6. 28. and *Lament.* 4. 10. and thoſe words are ſpoken of things then done and paſt; but the Prophet *Ezekiel*, that lived about the ſame time, ſpeakes in the future tenſe of ſome new, and till then unheard-of calamity, but ſuch as ſhould bee common afterward; *I will doe in thee that I never did before, for in the midſt of thee the Fathers ſhall eat their Sons, and the Sons their Fathers*, &c. *Ezek.* 5. 9, 10. Before indeed, and at the Romans beleaguering *Ieruſalem*, Women did eate their Children, but there is no relation of Fathers and Sonnes devouring one another, though this be foretold, and as a thing eaſily to bee taken notice of, (a) *Ioſephus* in that laſt ſiege tells but of one Woman eating her childe, and 'tis like there was no other, becauſe the whole City was aſtoniſh'd at the newes, and the ſeditious themſelves did abhorre it; yea and when the Romans heard thereof in their Campe, it exceeded

a *Joſeph. de Bello Judaico.* l. 7. c. 8.

credit at first, and their Generall comforted himselfe against that most inhumane and hideous fact, by remembring he had often proffered them peace, and they had as often wilfully refused it; but that Prophet foretells an infelicity without parallel, both *de præterito*, and *de futuro*; *I will doe in thee that I never did before, neither will I ever doe the like*, Verse 9. And it should be a publick and notorious calamity, for *in the midst of thee the Fathers should eate their Sonnes, and their Sons their Fathers*, Ver. 10. Words implying, yea expressing more than wee can read was done, either when the Chaldees or Romans begirt their City: And the glosse of St. *Ierome* (*b*) strengthens this conjecture; When the Fathers, saith he, did eate the Sonnes, or the Sonnes their Fathers, is not related in any History, and yet it was to be done openly in the midst of them, and as it were in the sight of the Sunne. But if the Jewes bee planted in that Westerne World, we shall soone find the accomplishment of that Prophecie from Heaven, for (*c*) there be Caniballs and Man-eaters in great multitudes; some whose trade is *Homo cupium*, & *Homo capium*, hungring and hunting after Mans flesh, and devouring it, whose greedy bellies have buried Millions of them, these Carybes are scattered all the Countrey over, the Mauhacks are such, and so neare they are, or were to some of our (*d*) Planters, that finding an Englishman, they eate one part of him after another, before his face, while he was yet alive. If it be said, they eate none but strangers, or enemies, not Fathers their Sonnes, & *à contra*, (*f*) *Peter Martyr* removes that scruple, by affirming, if they want the flesh of Foes and Forraigners, they eate then one another, even their owne (*g*) kinred & allies, as he writes that added the *Centons* to (*h*) *Solinus*.

b *In Ezek* c. 5.

c *P. Mart.* p. 206. *Levius. Benzo. alii.*

d. Prosp. of *N. Eng. part.* 2.

Naucler. Chr. part. 2. p. 519.

f p. 275.

g *In fine.* p. 188.

h p. 55.

If

If it be objected, thoſe Caniballs are of a different Nature and Nation from the reſt, *Peter Martyr* anſwers that alſo, ſuppoſing all the Inhabitants to bee of one ſtock, becauſe they uſe all one and the ſame kind of Bread, every where called Maiiz, and their Cymbæ Uni-ligneæ, their Canoes and Boats are in all places alike, and as (*i*) thoſe Weſtern Nations generally call their Boats Canoes, and their Bread Maiiz, ſo their common word for wine is Chichia, for ſwords Macanas for Kings Caciques.

i *Benzo. p.120.*

And if the Americans bee Jewiſh, the Spaniards have yet in another ſenſe fulfilled that Prediction of *Ezekiel*, for their owne Biſhop (*k*) *Bartholomeus de las Caſas* writes, how they tooke Indians 10000, ſometimes 20000 abroad with them in their Forragings, and gave them no manner of food to ſuſtaine them, but the Fleſh of other Indians taken in Warre, and ſo Chriſtian-Spaniards ſet up a ſhambles of mans fleſh in their Army; children were ſlaine and roaſted, men were killed for their hands and feet ſakes, for thoſe they eſteemed the onely delicate parts: this was moſt hideous and moſt barbarous inhumanity, the Tidings whereof was ſoone carryed through the Land, and overwhelmed the Inhabitants with Horror and Aſtoniſhment.

k *Crudelit. Hiſpan. p.50.*

CHAP VII.

Fifth Conjecture.

THE people that have not yet received the Goſpell of Jeſus Chriſt are Jewes, but the Americans have not yet been goſpelized; and here three things come to conſideration.

1. All other nations at firſt received the Goſpell.
2. The Jewes before the end of the world ſhall be converted.
3. Theſe Indians have not yet heard of Chriſt.

1. As the Scripture foreſeeing that God would juſtifie the Gentiles through faith, preached before the Goſpell unto *Abraham*, ſaying, *in thee ſhall all the Gentiles be bleſſed*, *Gal.* 3. 8. *Gen.* 12. 2, 3. 18. 8. In like manner the glorious Goſpell was ſoon conveyed to them, ſoon after the comming of Chriſt, even before the death of the Apoſtles; holy *David* ſpake of this promulgation, when he ſaid, *Pſal.* 19. 1. The Heavens, *i. e.* the Apoſtles did declare the glory of God, &c. For the fourth, *Their line is gone out into all Lands, and their words into the end of the world*, is appplied by Saint *Paul* to this very purpoſe, *Rom.* 10. 18. It was the command of their Maſter, *Goe teach all Nations, &c. Mat.* 28. 19. *and preach the Goſpell to every creature*, *Mar.* 16. 15. and they gave hereto moſt willing obedience, which we muſt have believed, though it had not bin ſo exactly recorded in undoubted eccleſiaſticall Hiſtories.

ſtories. There we read often (*a*) that they divided the world into 12 parts, every Apoſtle accepting that which fell to his lot; but firſt they compiled the Creed, called therefore σύμβολον or Collation, ſaith *Caſſian*, (*b*) who was *Chryſoſtomes* Scholar; becauſe that which was at large expreſſed in the ſeverall volumes of the Bible, was by them briefly contracted into that forme; and to this he applieth that of the Apoſtle, *Rom.* 9. 28. a ſhort worke we read it now, but of old it was rendred, *verbum abbreviatum* a ſhort word, a ſhort rule, to which all of them were to conforme their doctrine, and the fifteenth of *July* was afterwards, and is ſtill celebrated by (*c*) ſome Chriſtians, in memory of their thus going to Goſpellize the world; and it is called *Feſtum diviſionis Apoſtolorum*: yea and the place is yet ſhewed to Travellers at this day, (*d*) where they are ſaid to aſſemble upon this occaſion. Very (*e*) many ancient writers, hiſtoricall and others, (*f*) agreeing with *Vigilius* in this, *Authenticum ſymbolum quod Apoſtoli tradiderunt*; and a little before he blameth ſome for venting ſuch doctrines, as were neither (*g*) delivered by the Prophets, nor had the authentique authority of the Apoſtles Creed, and yet ſuppoſe it dubious whether that Symboll be indeed of Apoſtolicall conſtitution; and that they did not ſo divide the world to further their worke, which is ſo confidently avouched by the ancient, together with the Countries where each of them had their portion: yet we are ſufficiently aſſured ſuch was their commiſſion, which they purſued with exactneſſe and ſucceſſe; ſo that in their life time by their diligence the whole earth was enlightned: Thus Saint *Paul* tell his Romans, 1.8. *Their faith was publiſhed through the whole world*; the ſame is ſaid to the Colloſſians alſo, 1. 6. and

a *Socrat.* l. 1. c. 15 *Ruffin. Tripartit.* c. 6. *Diſceſſuri ab invicem Apoſtoli normam prædicationis in commune conſtituunt. Cypr. de Symb. Ap.*

b *De Incarn.* l. 6 c. 3.

c *Witekind de Sphæra.*

d *G. Sands* tra.

e *Socrat.* ubi ante. *Ruffin in Symb. & Hiſt.* l. 1. c. 9. *Tertul. de vel. virg.* l. 1. c. 1. *Regula quidem fidei una omnino eſt ſola immobilis. & inreformabilis. Clem. Ep. ad Jacob. quam Latin. fecit. Ruffin. Ambr. Ser.* 138. *Aug. de T.* 119.

f *Diſput.* p. 21.

g *Ibid.*

is uſed in neither place, leſt curioſity ſhould reſtraine it to the Roman World, but ὁ ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ, is the former expreſſion, and the latter is ὁ πανσὶ τῷ κόσμῳ in the whole and every part of the world; and is it not conſiderable, as the injunction was, *preach the Goſpell to every creature*, as was before remembred from Saint *Marke*, 16. 5. So Saint *Paul* avoweth that in his time *it was preached to every creature*, *Col.* 1. 23. ſuch was then the uſe of that word; the name creature was eſpecially given to man, the chiefe of all creatures below.

And this is unanimouſly acknowledged by the next writers, *Ignatius* (*h*) thought to be that little child called by Chriſt *Mat.* 18. 1. hath this expreſſion μία ἐκκλησία, There (*i*) is one Church which the Apoſtles ſetled from one end of the earth to another in the bloud of Chriſt, by their ſweat and labour. *Tertullian* (*k*) in the following Century affirmes that the Goſpel in thoſe very firſt times went beyond the Roman Monarchy, even to us Britons; and (*l*) *Euſebius* ſheweth how the doctrine of ſalvation by divine power and cooperation, was carried into all the world: and *Iulius Firmicus Maturnus* (*m*) profeſſeth that in his time 1300 yeeres ſince, there was no Nation under Heaven, Eaſt, Weſt, North, or South, unto whom the Sunne of the Goſpel had not ſhined; and not onely in all the Continent, but in every Iſland ſaith *Greg. Niſſene*; Thus (*n*) *Bernard* alſo, and others: for when the Jewiſh fleece was dried up, all the world ſaith *Ierome* (*o*) was ſprinkled with that heavenly dew.

h *Ep. ad Philadelph.* p. 4.

i *Niceph.* l. 2. c. 35.

k *Britannorum inacceſſa Romanis loca Chriſto patuerunt. adv. Iud.* c. 7.

l *Hiſt.* l. 2 c. 3.

m *De error. profan. relig.*

n *De conſid.* l. 2.

o *In Math. & T.* 1. *Ep.* p. 103.

2. The Jewes before the end of the world ſhall be converted to Chriſtianity; this truth is to be found in the Old and New Teſtament, and hath bin the conſtant

ſtant beliefe of the faithfull in every age. *The children of Iſraell ſhall remaine many daies without a King, and without a Prince*, &c. *Hoſ.* 3. 4. yet Ver. 5. *afterward they ſhall convert, and ſeeke the Lord their God, and David their King, i. e.* Chriſt the Sonne of *David* the King of his Church, thus *Zephan.* 3. 8, 9, 10, 11. *Zach.* 12. 10, 11, &c. and ſome predictions in that Evangelicall Prophet *Eſay*. Saint *Paul* applies to this very purpoſe, *Rom.* 11. 26, 27. from *Eſa.* 59. 20. & 27. 9. yea and our common Maſter Chriſt telleth us, *Ieruſalem ſhall be trodden under foot of the Gentiles, untill the time of the Gentiles ſhall be fulfilled*, Luke 21. 24. So Saint *Paul, when the fulneſſe of the Gentiles is come in, all Iſraell ſhall be ſaved*, *Rom.* 11. 25. Some by Iſraell here would underſtand, Iſraell according to the ſpirit, that is, the Elect from all the Nations: but all along the Jewes and Gentiles are ſpoken of as diſtinct people according to the fleſh, ſo *all Iſraell ſhall be ſaved*, that is, (*p*) a very great and numerous company, or many from every tribe, as we uſe to ſay *genera ſingulorum*, not *ſinguli generum*, or all the elect of them; *for when their heart ſhall be turned to the Lord, the veile ſhall be taken away*, 2 *Cor.* 3. 16. Ancient Chriſtians have ſubſcribed to this; In the end of the world ſaith *Ierome* (*q*) the Jewes receiving the Goſpel, ſhall be enlightned, thus *Auguſtine* (*r*), *Gregory* (*s*), *Bernard* (*t*), *Primaſius* (*u*), this was, this is the common opinion of Chriſtians.

Cæpit ab his, defertur ad hos, referetur ad illos (*w*)
Noſtra fides, & erunt ſub mundi fine fideles.

p *Willet de Vocat. Iud. Malvend de Antichriſto.*

q In Mat. 24. In Hoſ. 2. In Ioh. 4. Mic. 2.

r *De Civit. D.* l. 18. c. 28. & 20. 21.

ſ *Mor.* l. 35. c. 9.

t *In Cant. ſer.* 39.

u *In Apoc. mei* p. 31.

w *Sum. Raymundi.* p. 81.

To

From the Jewes our faith began,
To the Gentiles then it ran,
To the Jewes returne it ſhall,
Before the dreadfull end of all.

3. The third conſideration hath a twofold branch.

1. The Americans have not, but 2. ſhall be acquainted with Chriſtianity: and to the firſt all are not of this mind that the Indians have not heard of the Goſpell: for (x) *Oſiander* ſpeaking of *Vilagagno*, and his planting there in *Braſil*, writes confidently, without doubt thoſe people received the Goſpel of Chriſt by the preaching of the Apoſtles 1500 yeeres ſince, but they loſt it againe by their unthankfulneſſe; and *Malvenda* (y) allegeth ſome conjectures that Chriſtianity might have been among them, but theſe are ſo few, and ſo forced, that himſelfe ſuppoſeth them rather ſatanicall ſuggeſtions, illuſions, and imitations, than remembrances indeed of the Goſpell.

There be (z) ſome records where every one of the Apoſtles planted the faith of Chriſt, in what Nations and Kingdomes, but they are all ſilent touching this part of the world, which indeed was not knowne till of late; yea ſome (a) conceive, they had no being at all in former ages, and that there was not ſo much as land or earth in thoſe places; however queſtionleſſe they be but of late diſcovery; for though ſome (b) will have *America* to be thoſe Atlantique Iſlands mentioned by *Plato*, others that the Phœnicians arived thither more than 2000 yeeres ſince, and ſome further improbable conjectures there be, 'tis concluded nevertheleſſe by many judicious and obſervant men, that it was never heard

x *Epit. Cent.* 16 part. 2.

y p. 169.

z *Dorotb. Synop. Hieron. Catal. Socrat.* l. 15. *Ruffin.* l. 1. c 9. *Euſeb. aliiq;*

a *Salmuth. in Pancirol. de Noviter Repert.* c. 1. p. 7.

b *Bocha. Geo. Sac.* p. 716.

heard of in this world, till (*c*) *Chriſtopher Columbus* of *Genoa* brought newes thereof about 1590. when then, or by whom ſhould they be made Chriſtians? is it credible there ſhould be no records thereof in the Annalls of any Nation? Could ſo great a part of the world become Chriſtians, without any whiſpering thereof to any other; is it likely that all Goſpel-impreſſions ſhould be utterly obliterate among them? all the light thereof quite extinguiſhed? and not ſo much as the leaſt glimpſe thereof remaine? as is alſo acknowledged by him (*d*) that hath written and obſerved ſo much of theſe nations.

c *Acoſt. Benzo. Pet. Mart. Lerius. &c.*

d *Io. de Laet in Grot. part.* p. 71.

2. Seeing they were never yet enlightned, without queſtion they ſhall be, for the *Goſpell of the Kingdome muſt be preached every where for a witneſſe to all Nations*, Mat. 24. 14. Surely ſo large a part of the world ſhall not alwaies be forgotten: Is it imaginable that the God of mercy, who is φιλοψυχος, a lover of ſoules, *Wiſd.* 11. 23. ſhould ſuffer ſo great a portion of mankind ever to remaine in darkneſſe, and in the ſhadow of death? Is it credible or fit to be believed, that the wiſdome of the Father who taketh *his ſolace in the habitable parts of the earth, and his delight is to be with the children of men*, Prov. 8. 31. ſhould have no compaſſion of ſuch an innumerable multitude of ſoules? The earth was inhabited (*e*) by degrees, from the place where *Noahs* Ark reſted they went as the Sunne, from the Eaſt, and ſo planted themſelves forward; and the progreſſe of the Goſpell ſaith (*f*) *Euſebius*, was in the ſame manner, and for this there is more than alluſion in *Pſal.* 19. 5. compared with *Rom.* 10. 18. That Weſterne part of the world was laſt inhabited, and it ſhall heare of Chriſt alſo in due time, as certainely as there be people to re-

e *Bucholz Chron. mei* p. 136.

f *De Vit. Conſtant. l.* 2. *c.* 65.

ceive him, for *he shall be salvation* ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς, *to the last end of the earth*, Act. 13. 47. And the Americans have a tradition among themselves, (g) that white and bearded Nations shall subdue their Countries, abolish all their rites and ceremonies, and introduce a new religion.

g *Pet Mart. Decad.* p. 95. *&c.* 244. *Malvenda. ibid.*

CHAP. VIII.

The sixth Conjecture.

THE Americans calamities are suitable to those plagues threatned unto the Jewes, *Deut.* 28. Such a comment upon that terrible Scripture is not any where to be found, as among the Indians, by this also it will appear probable that they be Jews: and here three things shall be touched upon. 1. The Jewes were a very sinfull people. 2. The Indians were and are transcendent sufferers. 3. In that way ῥητῶς litterally, as was threatned to the Jewes.

1. The Jewes were grand offenders; (a) *Galatinus* mentions some of their enormous transgressions, with their ensuing vengeances. 1. The selling of *Ioseph* into *Egypt*, where themselves were kept afterwatd in an iron furnace, and dwelt a long time in an house of bondage. 2. Their first rejection of the Messiah, typified in *David*, 2 *Sam.* 20. 1. which was punished by the Assyrians. 3. The sacrificing of their owne children to Idols, and murthering the Prophets that deterred them from such abominations, he calls their third great offence, for which the Babylonian captivity fell upon them. 4. Their fatall and most grievous crime was the

a *De Arcan Cathol. Vent.* c. 24. p. 282.

the denyall of the *Holy one, and the juſt, with deſire that a murtherer ſhould be given them*, Act. 3. 14. and this brought upon them, firſt the tyranny of the Roman conqueſt, and then all thoſe hideous and horrid tribulations that preſſe and oppreſſe them to this day.

2. The Natives of *America* have endured the extremities of moſt unſpeakable miſeries: They are a Nation ſaith *Lerius* (*b*) curſed and forſaken of God, and the men of *Spaine* to their other cruelties added that moſt abominable reproach, theſe Barbarians are (*c*) dogs, unworthy of Chriſtendome; tis too true they were ſo uſed by them, as if they had bin ſuch or worſe, they did ſo weare them up with labour, that they became weary of their lives, the poore creatures chuſing rather to die any kind of death, than to live under ſuch bloody Maſters and Monſters; they ſcared the Indians into woods, where the men and women hanged themſelves together, and wanting inſtruments ſometimes for ſuch ſelfe-execution, they helped one another to knit their long locks about the branches of trees, and ſo caſt themſelves downe headlong, their owne haires being their halters; and thus many thouſands of them ended their daies with moſt lamentable yellings and out-cries; their inteſtine violences and injuries among themſelves were woefull by rapine, warre, and ſacrificings of one another, many (*d*) thouſands of them have been immolated in one day at *Mexico*; but their ſufferings by the ſpaniards exceed not onely all relation, but beliefe, and ſurely the ſavages could not have outſtripped the Spaniards in barbarous ſavageneſſes, if thoſe Infidells had gotten the upper hand of theſe Chriſtians; a very prudent Cacique ſaith *Benzo* (*e*), that was neere an hundred yeeres old, reported freely, that when he was young, a very

b *Lerius p.* 230.

c *Benzo p.* 77. 111. 167.

d *Surius in Append. ad Naucler. p.* 775.

e P. 222.

ſtrange diſeaſe invaded thoſe countrys, the ſick commonly vomited many filthy wormes, ſuch a waſting plague he ſaid followed this calamity, that we feared none of us could ſurvive it: and a little before your comming we of *Iucatana* had two cruell battailes with the Mexicans, in which above one hundred and fifty thouſand were ſlaine, but theſe were all light and eaſie vexations, in reſpect of thoſe terrible examples of intollerable inſolence, avarice, and cruelty, exerciſed by your ſelves upon us; thus he: we read, when the Prophet of God foretold *Hazael*, the evill hee ſhould bring upon Iſrael *Hazael* ſaid, *Is thy ſervant a dog that he ſhould doe this?* 2 King. 8. 13. But the Spaniards did more evill things to the Indians, and ſhewed themſelves with ſhame to be worſe than dogs, witneſſe that bloody *Bezerill*, though not ſo bloody as his Maſter *Didacus Salaſar* (*f*), who ſet that his Maſtiffe upon an old woman, employed by himſelfe, as he feigned with letters to the Governour, who ſeeing the cruell curre, by his more cruell Maſters ſetting on, with open mouth comming upon her, falls to the ground, beſpeaking him in her language, ſir dog, ſir dog, I carry theſe letters to the Governour, holding up to his view the ſeale, be not angry with me, ſir dog, the Maſtiffe as becalmed by that begging poſture and language, abates his fierceneſſe, liſtes up his leg, and beſprinkles the woman, as dogs uſe to doe at the wall: the Spaniards that knew well his curſtneſſe at other times, ſaw this with aſtoniſhment, and were aſhamed to hurt the woman, that ſo cruell a dog had ſpared.

(*f*) Ovied. Hiſt. Ind. l. 16. c. 11. in Benzo. p. 295

3. The Indian ſufferings have runne ſo parallell with thoſe threats, *Deut.* 28. as if they had been principally intended therein alſo. Was Iſrael offending to be calamitous, *in all places, towne and field, at home and*

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abroad, &c. The poore Indians (*g*) for their gold and labour, were by the Spaniards hunted out of all places, corners and Iſlands, as if the end of their diſcovery had been indeed to make a full end, and a totall devaſtation of the American Nations. Againſt the ſinning Jewes it was ſaid, *Curſed ſhall be the fruit of thy body, &c. verſ.* 18. *The peſtilence ſhall cleave unto thee, &c. The Lord ſhall ſmite thee with a conſumption, &c.* ver. 21, 22, 35, 29. Strange diſeaſes have deſtroyed the Natives, as the hiſtories of thoſe countries doe relate; their cruell task-maſters the Spaniards, did ſo much overburthen them with load and labour, that the (*h*) cohabitation of man and wife did ceaſe: ſeven thouſand infants of *Cuba* did periſh in three moneths ſpace, their mothers worne out with toyling had no milk to give them. The Lord ſaid, *He would ſmite Iſrael with blindneſſe, madneſſe, and aſtoniſhment of heart, and thou ſhalt grope at noone day, as the blind gropeth in darkneſſe, &c.* ver. 28, 29. And woefull indeed is the veile of ignorance that is come over the Natives (*i*); they imagined the Iſland *Hiſpaniola* to be a living creature, eating and digeſting like a monſter: that vaſt ſea-den or hollow place which they call *Guacca-jarima*, is the voider of its excrements, a fancy like that antique fable of the Demogorgon lying in the wombe of the world, whoſe breath cauſeth the flux and reflux of the ſea: the darke part of the Moone (*k*) they take to be a man throwne thither, and tormented for inceſt with his owne ſiſter, whoſe eclipſe they gueſſe to be cauſed by the Sunnes anger; thoſe reſponſalls of the aires reverberation, which we call eccho, they ſuppoſe to be ſoules, wandring thereabouts. How were thoſe poore creatures aſtoniſh'd, when they ſaw themſelves torne by (*l*) Spaniſh dogs, whoſe Maſters would

g *Caſa, Benzo, alij Hiſtorici paſſim.*

h *Iidem.*

i *Pet. Mart: p. 506. Guacca Regio, jarima podex.*

k *Id. p. 525.*

l *Caſa. p. 100.*

would borrow quarters of Indians, men and women, for their hounds, and as commonly expose them to such a kind of death and buriall, as if men and women had bin made for dogs meate? how were they affrighted when the feare of Spanish cruelties provoked fathers, mothers, children, to hang themselves together? that Bishop knew of two hundred and more so perishing by the tyranny of one Spaniard. No (*m*) marvaile therefore if when the Fryer told *Hathuey*, the Cacique, of heavens happinesse, and the torments of hell, and hee understanding upon enquiry that the Spaniards dying went to heaven, because they were Christians, let my lot saith he fall in hell rather than with that most cruell people. God said of the Jewes, *They should be oppressed and spoyled evermore*, ver. 29. *thou shalt betroth a wife, and another shall lie with her*, ver. 30. *you shall be left few in number, though yee were as starres for multitude, &c.* ver. 62. And these Americans were made by the Spaniards every where and every way miserable, without any helpe or relieve: *Barthol. las Casas* upon fourty two yeeres sight of their suffering, sympathized so much with them, that he represented the same to King *Philip*, in hope to obtaine for them some favour and mercy, but he little prevailed. One of them boasted of his care to leave as many Indian women as he could with child, that in their sale he might put them off to his better profit: from (*n*) *Lucaios* to *Hispaniola*, about seventy miles, dead carkases were cast so abundantly into the sea, that they needed no other direction thither; and wee know it for truth, saith hee, that Countreys longer than all *Europe* and a great part of *Asia*, by horrid cruelties were destroyed, and more than twenty Millions of the Natives perished; (*o*) yea in *Hispaniola* alone, scarce one hundred

m *Casa.* p. 24.

n *Id.* p. 60.

o *Benzo.* p. 111.

dred and fifty, of two millions were left alive. In another place hee professeth their tyranny was so cruell and detestable, that in fourty six yeeres space they caused, he verily believed, more than fifty millions of them to pay their last debt to nature; for I speak, saith hee, the truth, and what I saw: they dealt with the poore Indians, not as with beasts, *hoc enim peroptarem*, but as if they had bin the most abject dung of the earth: and is this the way saith *Benzo* to convert Infidels? Such kindnesse they shewed to other places also, *Cuba, Iamaica, Portu ricco, &c.* It was said against Israell, *Cursed shall thy basket be, and thy store*, ver. 17. *the fruit of thy land, the encrease of thy cattle.* ver. 18. *all shall be devoured by enemies and other Nations, &c.* ver. 30, &c. For very much is said of their suffering in riches and honour &c. And the Spanish Christians that brake into *America* shewed themselves so covetous of their treasure, that the Natives with wonder said (*p*) surely gold is the Spaniards God; they broiled noble Indians on gridirons, to extort from them their hidden wealth, giving no respect at all to their Caciques or Kings. Memorable in (*q*) many respects is the History of *Attaballiba* the great King of *Peru*, who being conquered and captivated by *Francis Pizarro*, redeemed his liberty by the promise of so many golden and silver vessels, as should fill the roome where they were so high as one could reach with his hand, and they were to take none away till he had brought in the whole summe; expecting thereupon according to covenant his freedome and honour, he dispatched his officers and servants with great care and diligence, and did faithfully performe his bargaine, in bringing that vast heape of treasure together; but they resolve nevertheless most impiously

Id. ib. p. 7. & 8

p. *Casa.* p. 12. 22. 29. 54.

q *Benzo.* p. 285.

to

to murder him, though with many arguments and tears he pleaded for his life, desiring sometime to be sent unto *Cæsar*, then expostulating with them for their perfidiousnesse and falsehood, but neither words nor weeping, nor their owne inward guilt could mollifie those hard hearts, they sentence him to death by a rope, and the cruell execution followed; but (*r*) *Benzo* observed a miraculous hand of vengeance from heaven upon all that gave consent thereto: so that as *Suetonius* (*s*) records of *Cæsars* stobbers, *Nullus eorum sua morte defunctus est*, every one of them found that consultation and contrivance fatall; *Almager* is hanged, *Didacus* his sonne is slaine by *Vacca de Castro*, the Indians kill *Iohn Pizarro* at *Cusco*, who fell upon Fryar *Vincent* also of the green valley, and slew him with clubs in the Isle *Puna*, *Ferdinandus Pizarro* was sent into *Spain*, where he consumed his daies in a prison, *Gonsallus Pizarro* was taken by *Gasca* and hewen in pieces, and *Francis Pizarro* that was the President, and gave judgement, died an evill death also, being slaine by his owne Countrey men in that strange land; so just was God in avenging so perfidious a regicide and King-murder, so ominous was their presumption against the honourable, vile swine-herds sentencing so great a King to so foule a death: those are his words, in whom, and his interpreter (*t*), he that please may read further, those murderers were base in birth and life, and they instance in despicable particulars.

r p. 289, &c.

s c. 89.

t Benzo. 179. 311, 315. &c.

It were endlesse to mention all the parallels that the Spaniards have drawne upon the poore Indians, according to the threats of God upon the sinning Jewes, Deut. 28. 43, *The stranger that is within thee shall get up above thee very high, and thou shalt come downe very low.* 48.

Thou

Thou ſhalt ſerve thine enemy in hunger, and thirſt, and nakedneſſe, and in want of all things, and he ſhall put a yoake of iron upon thy necke till he have deſtroyed thee. 59. *The Lord will make thy plagues wonderfull, &c.* 61. *And every plague which is not written in this Law will the Lord bring upon thee, untill thou be deſtroyed.*

Their Kings and Caciques were no more regarded by them than the meaneſt, they enthralled all the Natives in moſt woefull ſervitude and captivity; their ſufferings have bin moſt wonderfull, ſuch as the Book of the Law hath not regiſtred, nor any other record; they ſpared no age nor ſex, not women with childe; they laid wagers who could digge deepeſt into the bodies of men at one blow, or with moſt dexterity cut off their heads; they tooke infants from their mothers breaſts and daſh'd their innocent heads againſt the rockes; they caſt others into the rivers with ſcorne, making themſelves merry at the manner of their falling into the water; they ſet up ſeverall gallowſes, and hung upon them thirteen Indians in honour they ſaid of Chriſt and his twelve Apoſtles: And yet further the ſame Biſhop mervailes at the abominable blindneſſe and blaſphemy of his Countrymen, impropriating their bloudy crimes unto God himſelfe, giving him thanks in their proſperous tyrannies, like thoſe thieves and Tyrants he ſayth ſpoken of by the Prophet *Zachary*, 11. 5. *They kill, and hold themſelves not guilty, and they that ſell them ſay, Bleſſed be the Lord, for I am rich.* *Caſa.* p. 19. 11. *Id.* p. 57.

And now if all theſe parallels will not amount to a probability, one thing more ſhall be added, which is the diſperſion of the Jewes, tis ſaid, *The Lord ſhall ſcatter thee among all people, from one end of the earth, even to the other, &c.* Deut. 28. 64. *The whole remnant of thee*

I will ſcatter into all winds, Ezek. 5. 10, 12, 14. & Zach. 2. 6. *I have ſpread you as the foure winds of heaven.*

Now if it be conſidered how punctuall and faithfull God is in performing his promiſes and threats mentioned in the Scripture of truth, wee ſhall have cauſe to looke for the Jewes in *America*, one great, very great part of the earth; *Eſay* had ſaid, 1. 8. *The daughter of Syon ſhall be left as a lodge in a garden of Cucumbers*, and as *Helena* (*u*) found it in her time, *pomorum cuſtodium* an Apple-yard; ſo (*w*) *Cyrill* affirmeth in his daies it was a place full of Cucumbers; *Ieremies* prophecies of *Babylons* deſtruction, even in the circumſtances thereof, are particularly acknowledged and related by *Xenophon* (*x*), The Lord had threatned to bring a *Nation upon Iſrael ſwift as the Eagle flieth*, Deut. 28. 49. *Ioſephus* (*y*) ſaith this was verified in *Veſpatians* Enſigne, and the banner of *Cyrus* was an Eagle (*z*) alſo, as the ſame *Xenophon* relateth; and if the Jewes bee not now, never were in *America*, how have they been diſperſed into all parts of the earth? this being indeed ſo large a portion of it; how have they bin ſcattered into all the four windes, if one of the foure did never blow upon them? Much more might be ſaid of their ſufferings from the Spaniards, whom the barbarous Indians thereupon counted ſo barbarous and inhumane, that they ſuppoſed them not to come into the world like other people, as if it were impoſſible, that any borne of man and woman ſhould be ſo monſtruouſly ſavage and cruell; they derived therefore their pedigree from the wide and wild Ocean, and call'd them (*a*) *Viracochete*, *i. e.* the foame of the Sea, as beeng borne of the one, and nouriſhed by the other, and poured upon the earth for its deſtruction. (*b*) *Acoſta* indeed gives another interpretation of that

u *Tripartit. Hiſt. l. 2. c. 18.*
w *Catech. 16. p. 263.*
x *Cyropaid. paſſim.*
y *De B. Judaica. l. 3. c. 57*
z *Ubi ſupra. 7. p. 501.*
a. *Levius. p. 152 alij q; Cent. ad Solin. p. 218.*
b. *Hiſt. l. 7. c. 22.*

that word in honour of his Nation, but other (*c*) writers unanimously accord in this; and (*d*) *Benzo* confidently averreth, that the conceit and judgement of the Indians touching the originall of the Spaniards, is so setled in them, that none but God himselfe can alter their minds herein; for thus saith hee they reason among themselves, the winds tumble downe houses, and teare trees in peeces, the fire burnes both trees and houses, but these same *Viracotheies* devoure all, they turn over the earth, offer violence to the rivers, are perpetually unquiet, wandering every way to finde gold, and when they have found it, they throw it away at dice, they steale, and sweare, and kill, yea and kill one another, and deny God: yea these Indians in detestation of the Spaniards, he saith, doe execrate and curse the sea it selfe for sending such an intractable, fierce, and cruell a generation into the earth: But thus have wicked sinnes drawne woefull punishments, threatned to the Jewes, and suffered also by these Americans, wherein the more hath bin spoken, not onely to deter all Christians from such inhumane barbarities, but to provoke the readers every way to compassionate such transcendent sufferers, the rather because as Canaan of old *was Emanuels land*, Hos. 9. 3. *the holy land*, Zach. 2. 12. and the Jewes were Gods peculiar people, so these surely are either a remnant of Israell after the flesh, or else God will in his good time incorporate them into that common-wealth, and then they also shall become the Israel of God.

c *Lerius, alij.*
d *p. 405, 406.*

Part Second.

Some contrary reaſonings removed, and firſt in the generall.

CHAP. I.

THere be ſome that by irrefragable arguments, they ſuppoſe, evince and overthrow all conjectures that the Americans be Jewes: Apocryphall *Eſdras* in Hiſtoricalls may be of ſome credit, and that ſentence of his by many is applyed to this very purpoſe; and theſe very people, the ten tribes led away captive by *Salmanaſar*, tooke this counſell among themſelves, that they would leave the multitude of the Heathen, and goe forth into a farther Countrey, where never

never man dwelt, that they might there keepe their ſtatutes, which they never kept in their owne land, and they entred into *Euphrates*, by the narrow paſſages of the river, for through that Countrey there was a great way to goe, namely of a yeere and an halfe, and the ſame Region is called *Arſareth*, &c. 2 *Eſdr.* 13. 40. &c.

(*a*) *Acoſta* is of opinion that theſe words thus produced by many, make in truth againſt this conjecture, and that for two reaſons. 1. The ten Tribes went ſo farre to keepe their ſtatutes and ceremonies, but theſe Indians obſerve none of them, being given up to all Idolatries: And is this at all conſequent, ſuch was their purpoſe, therefore the ſucceſſe muſt be anſwerable? is it likely they ſhould be ſo tenacious in a farre and forraigne land, that never kept them in their owne, as the next words expreſſe? His ſecond Argument is of like force, for tis not ſaid, that *Euphrates* and *America* be contiguous, or places ſo neere one the other, much-leſſe that the entries of that River ſhould ſtretch to the Indies; but hee tells of a very long journey taken by them, ſuitable to the places of their removall, and approach, which was to a Countrey where never man dwelt, and what Countrey could this be but *America*? all other parts of the world being then knowne and inhabited: Beſides there hath bin a common tradition among the Jews, and in the world, that thoſe ten tribes are utterly loſt; in what place are they then like to be found if not in *America*? for they ſhall be found againe. Some conjectures that they came from *Norway*, and be of that nation, have bin mentioned, with the improbability alſo thereof; and now lately *T. Gage* ſets forth his new ſurvey of the Weſt Indies, his long abode there, and diligent obſervation of many, very many remarkable paſſages in

a *Acoſt. l. 1. c. 9*

his travells; there I hoped to read somewhat of their originalls, and finde him (*b*) affirming that the Indians seeme to be of the Tartars progeny, his reasons are, 1. *Quivira* and all the West side of the Countrey towards *Asia* is farre more populous than the East next *Europe*, which sheweth these parts to be first inhabited; but if the meaning be, the nearer *Tartary* the more populous, therefore they came from thence, its falls in with the third reason. 2. Their barbarous properties are most like the Tartats of any; this argument militates with more force for their Judaisme, to which many of their rites be so consonant, both sacred and common, as hath been said. And thirdly the West side of *America*, if it be not continent with *Tartary*, is yet disjoyned by a small straite; but the like may be said of some other parts, that they be or may have been neer some other maine lands, and so by that reason of some other race and extract. 4. The people of *Quivira* neerest to *Tartary*, are said to follow the seasons and pasturing of their cattell like the Tartarians; this particular, a species of the generall, delivered in the second reason, is there glanced upon, but all he saith of this nature, and others with him, are so farre from weakening our conjecture, that they may be embraced rather as friendly supports thereunto, if others have guessed right that conceive the Tartars also themselves to be Jewes. *Mathew Paris* (*c*), no meane man in his time, was of that opinion; in his famous history he mentions it as the judgement of learned men in that age, it is thought the Tartars, *quorum memoria est detestabilis*, are of the ten Tribes, &c. Yea and of latter times Dr *Fletcher* (*d*) a neere neighbour to them while he lived among the Russes as Agent for Queen *Elizabeth*, suppoſeth the same, and

b Gages survey. p. 73.

c M. Paris ad An. 1240. mei p. 732. & 756.

d In M. S.

and giveth divers probable arguments inducing him thereto: the names of many Townes in *Tartary* the ſame with thoſe in Iſrael, *Tabor*, *Ierico*, *Choraſin*, *&c.* They are circumciſed, diſtinguiſhed into Tribes, and have many Hebrew words among them, &c. for hee addeth other probabilities; yea and the ſame *M. Paris* (e) ſhewes that the Jewes themſelves were of that mind, and called them their brethren of the ſeed of *Abraham*, &c. There was another tranſmigration of them when *Veſpatian* deſtroyed *Ieruſalem*; their owne, and other Hiſtories ſpeake little thereof: it might be well worthy the endeavours of ſome ſerious houres to enquire after the condition of that Nation ſince our moſt deare Saviours Aſcenſion; a ſtrange thing is reported by themſelves, and of themſelves, and with ſuch confidence (*f*) that tis in their devotion. It ſaith when *Veſpatian* wan *Ieruſalem*, he gave order that three ſhips laden with that people might be put to Sea, but without Pilot, oares, or tackling, theſe by windes and tempeſts were woefully ſhattered, and ſo diſperſed, that they were caſt upon ſeverall coaſts; one of them in a Countrey called *Lovanda*, the ſecond in another region named *Arlado*, the third at a place called *Bardeli*, all unknown in theſe time, the laſt courteouſly entertained theſe ſtrangers, freely giving them grounds and vineyards to dreſſe, but that Lord being dead, another aroſe that was to them, as *Pharaoh* to old Iſrael, and he ſaid to them, he would try by *Nabuchodonoſors* experiment upon the three young men, if theſe alſo came from the fire unſcorch'd, he would believe them to be Jewes, they ſay *Adoni-Melech*, moſt noble Emperour, let us have alſo three daies to invoke the Majeſty of our God for our deliverance, which being granted, *Ioſeph* and *Benjamin* two bro-

e *Vbi ſupra.*

f *Buxtorf. Synag. Ind. c. 9. mei p.* 231.

brothers, and their cosin *Samuell*, consider what is meet to be done, and agree to fast and pray three daies together, and meditate every one of them a prayer, which they did, and out of them all they compiled one which they used all those three daies and three nights; on the morning of the third day one of them had a vision upon *Esa.* 43. 2. which marvelously encouraged them all: soone after a very great fire was kindled, and an innumerable company of people came to see the burning, into which they cast themselves unbidden without feare, singing, and praying till all the combustible matter was consumed, and the fire went out; the Jewes every where published this miracle, and commanded that this prayer should be said every Monday and Thursday morning in their Synagogues, which is observed by them to this day saith *Buxtorfius*: In this narration if there be any truth wee may looke for some confirmation thereof from *America*. But that there be no Jewes in those parts, *Io. de Laet* endeavours otherwise to evince; as 1. They are not circumcised, therefore not Jewes; but their circumcision hath been made so manifest, that this reason may well be retorted; they are circumcised, therefore they be Jewes.

In Grot:

Againe the Indians are not covetous, nor learned, nor carefull of their Antiquities, therefore they are not Judaicall; in which allegations if there be any strength, it will be answered in the examination of those three following scrupulous and difficult questions.

1. *Whence and how the Iewes should get into* America.
2. *How multiply, and enpeople so great a Continent, so vast a land.*
3. *How grow so prodigiously rude and barbarous.*

CHAP.

CHAP II.

Answer to the first Quere, How the Jewes should get into America.

THE Jewes did not come into *America*, as is feigned of *Ganimed* (*a*), riding on Eagles wings, neither was there another Arke made to convey them thither, the Angels did not carry them by the haires of the heads, (*b*) as Apocryphall *Habakuk* was conducted into *Babylon*, these were not caught by the Spirit of the Lord and setled there, as Saint *Philip was from Ierusalem to Azotus*, Act. 8. 5. They were (*c*) not guided by an Hart, as tis written of the Hunns, when they brake in upon the nearer parts of *Europe* (*d*), *Procopius* reports of the Mauritii, an African Nation, that they were of those Gergesites or Jebusites spoken of in the Scriptures, for he had read a very ancient writing in Phænician Characters thus, ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν οἱ φυγόντες ἀπὸ προσώπου Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λῃστοῦ υἱοῦ Naδη, *i. e.* We are they that fled from the face of the destroyer *Iesus* the sonne of *Nave*; and so the Septuagint names him, whom wee call the sonne of *Nun*, and as τύραννος formerly, λῃστὴς was not in those daies of such odious signification: It may be said these might passe from the parts of *Asia* into *Lybia* by land, but the Jewes could not so get into *America*, which is thought by some to be very farre distant on every side from the Continent; (*e*) *Acosta* therefore supposeth the Natives might come at first by sea into that maine

a *Hygin. Astron.*

b *Eel. & Drag.*

c *Agathias Hist. m.* p. 142.

d *In Euagr. l.* 4. *c.* 18.

e *l.* 1. 19.

land, alledging ſome experiments to that purpoſe, but in the next Chapter he judgeth it more probable, whoſoever the inhabitants be, that they travelled thither by land; for though ſome few men happily by tempeſts, might be caſt on thoſe ſhores, yet it is unlike, ſo large a part of the earth by ſuch mishaps ſhould be repleniſhed. *F. Cotton* (*f*), it ſeemes was puzled with this ſcruple, therefore in his memorialls he propounded to the Dæmoniaque that Interrogatory, *Quomodo animalia in inſulas, &c. Quomodo homines*, how got men and other creatures into thoſe Iſlands and Countries. *Acoſta* (*g*) ſubſcribes at length to the ſentence of St. *Auſtin* (*h*) for the entrance of Beares, Lions, and Wolves, that they arrived thither, either by their owne ſwimming, or by the importation of curious men, or by the miraculous command of God, and miniſtration of the Angels, yet his (*i*) finall determination is, and he lived ſeventeen yeeres in that Countrey, *America* joyneth ſomewhere with ſome other part of the world, or elſe is but by a very little diſtance ſeparated from it. And it may yet be further conſidered, the ſcituation of Countries is much altered by tract of time, many places that were formerly ſea, are now dry land ſaith *Strabo* (*k*), a great part af *Aſia* and *Africa* hath bin gained from the Atlantique Ocean, the ſea of *Corinth* was drunk up by an earthquake, *Lucania* by the force of the water was broken off from *Italy*, and got a new name; *Sicily* ſaith *Tertullian*, (*l*) the ſea gave unto the (*m*) earth the Iſland *Rhodes*; *Pliny* (*n*) mentions divers places, Iſlands long ſince, but in his time adjoyned to the Continent, and the ſea hath devoured many Townes and Cities, that were anciently inhabited; that *Vallis Silveſtris* as the Latin tranſlation renders, *Gen.* 14. 3. or of *Siddim*, *i. e.*

Tract. P. Cott.

g *Vbi ſupra.*

h *De C. D. l. 16. c. 7.*

i *Idem.*

k *Geograp. l. 1.*

l *Apol. c. 39.*

m *Ælian. Var. Hiſt. p. 455.*

n *l. 2. c. 89 91.*

La-

Laboured fields, as tis in Hebrew, was certainely a *vaile of ſlime-pits in the daies of Abraham and Lot*, ver. 10. which very place about foure hundred yeeres after, *was a ſea, the ſalt ſea*, ver. 3. Between *Thera* and *Therasia* an Iſland ſuddenly appeared, ſaith (o) *Euſebius*, and the ſea perhaps hath broken into ſome places, and of one made a double Iſland; all Ages and Nations tell of the water and the Earth, how they gain one from the other: and thus ſome (p) have conjectured, that our Brittaine ſince the floud, was one Continent with *France*, for the diſtance between them, at *Callis* and *Dover* is but ſmall, about twenty foure miles, and the cliffes on both ſides are like each other, for length and matter, equally chalk and flinty, as if art, or ſuddaine violence had made an even ſeparation. Thence *Hollinſhead* writes confidently, becauſe Lions and wild Bulls were formerly in this Iſland, that it was not cut from the maine by the great deluge of *Noah*, but long after; for none would repleniſh a Countrey with ſuch creatures for paſtime and delight.

o *Chron. Anno* 46

p *Verſtig. c.* 4. *Lamb. Peramb.* p. 18.

chron. 1. *part.* p. 225.

And if theſe be no more but conjectures that *America* was once united to the other world, or but a little divided from it, time and the ſea two inſatiable devourers have made the gap wider: But the queſtion is not in what age, before, or ſince the Incarnation of our Lord the Jewes tooke their long journey, and planted there; but how the way was paſſable for them: *Malvenda* (q) ſpeakes confidently that they might come into *Tartary*, and by the deſerts into *Grotland*, on which ſide *America* is open; and Mr *Brerewood* (r) aſſures us that the North part of *Aſia* is poſſeſſed by Tartars, and if it be not one Continent with *America*, as ſome ſuppoſe; yet doubtleſſe they are divided by a very narrow channell, becauſe

q *Ibid.*

r *In Io. de Laet.* p. 126.

there be abundance of Beares, Lions, Tigers, and Wolves in the Land, which ſurely men would not tranſport to their owne danger and detriment, thoſe greater
s *Ibid.* p. 116. (s) beaſts indeed are of ſtrength to ſwimme over Sea many miles, and this is generally obſerved of Beares:
t *Ibid.* & p. 25. and (t) *Herrera* ſaith, the inhabitants of the Weſt Indies came thither by land, for thoſe Provinces touch upon the Continent of *Aſia*, *Africa*, and *Europe*, though it be not yet fully diſcovered, how, and where the two worlds be conjoyned, or if any ſea doe paſſe between them, they are ſtraites ſo narrow, that beaſts might eaſily ſwimme, and men get over even with ſmall veſſells;
u *Miſcellan. Sacr. l.2. c.4.* Our Countrey-man *Nich. Fuller* (u) gives in his ſuitable verdit for the facile paſſing into *Columbina*, ſo he calls it from the famous firſt diſcoverer, ſaying, from other places they might find ſeverall Iſlands not farre diſtant each from other, and a narrow cut at laſt through which paſſengers might eaſily be conveyed; and *Acoſta*
w *Hiſt. l.7. c.3: & l. 1. c.20.* (w) tells that about *Florida* the land runs out very large towards the North, and as they ſay joynes with the Scythique or German Sea; and after ſome other ſuch mentionings, he concludes confidently, there is no reaſon or experience that doth contradict my conceit, that all the parts of the Earth be united and joyned in ſome place or other, or at leaſt, approach very neere together, and that is his concluſive ſentence. It is an indubitable thing, that the one world is continued, and joyned with the other.

CHAP

CHAP. III.

Answer to Question 2. How such a remnant should enpeople so great a part of the world.

THE whole Countrey of Jewry, whence wee would have it probable that the Americans came, is not above one hundred and sixty miles long, from (*a*) *Dan* to *Beersheba*, and the breadth is but sixty miles, from *Ioppa* to *Iordan*, in St. *Ieromes* account, who knew it so well; and how some few Colonies, as it were removing from thence should multiply into such numbers, that so large a Countrey should be filled by them, is a scruple that hath troubled some considering men. *America* in the latitude of it is (*b*) is foure thousand miles; and Bishop *Casa's* (*c*) hath said already, that the Spaniards in his time had forraged and spoyled Countries longer then all *Europe*, and a great part of *Asia*; it seemes incredible therefore that the Incommers, who were but few in comparison, as a little flocke of Kids, should so marvelously spread into all the Westerne World; for the Americans before that Spanish devastation, filled all the Countrey. But this will not seeme so difficult, if former examples be taken into consideration; (*d*) some have made speciall observation of the [illegible] such as had many children; tis much that *Acosta* (*e*) writes of one of the Inguas or Kings of *Peru*, that hee had above three hundred sonnes and grandchildren; tis more that *Philo Iudeus* (*f*) tells of *Noah* the Patriarke, who lived, hee saith, to see twenty

a Tr. 3. *Ep.* p. 69

b *Lerius.* p. 169.

c *Ante p. hujus* 24. n.

d *Verstegan.* p. 188.

e *Hist. l. 6. c. 22.*

f *Qu. in Gen. & Comest. c. 37.*

foure thousand proceeding from him, all males, for women were not numbred. We use to say, *Rome* was not built in one day; and indeed *Eutropius* (*g*) speaking of the Empire of that City, saith, at first none was lesse, but in its increment it exceeded all others by many degrees, so that he who reades the story thereof, reads not the acts of one people, but of all Nations saith *Florus* (*h*); yea and *Seneca* (*i*) looking on *Rome* in its minority, and her immense magnitude afterward, is amazed thereat; this one people saith he, how many Colonies did it send into all Provinces, he writes of numerous encreases from other Cities also, as *Athens* and *Miletus*, but it will be nearer to our purpose to observe, how small the number of Israell was at his first discent into *Egypt*, how short a time they tarried there, what cruell waies were taken to stop their encrease, and yet how much, and how marvelously they multiplied, and then it will not be strange, that a farre greater number, in a longer time should or might grow into such vast multitudes. And for the first tis most certaine, *all the soules of the house of Iacob which came into Egypt were seventy*. Gen. 46. 27. Tis true also, though not to all so manifest, that the time of their abode in *Egypt* was about two hundred and fifteen yeers, and not more; at first appearance indeed it seems to be otherwise, because wee read, *Exod.* 12. 40. *The sojourning of the children of Israell who dwelt in Egypt, was foure hundred and thirty yeeres*, but the *Septuagints* addition is here remarkable καὶ ἐν γῇ χαναὰν αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν. They dwelt in *Egypt* and in the Land of *Canaan*, they and their Fathers, foure hundred and thirty yeeres, and this is one of those thirteen mutations that the seventy Interpreters made; when at King *Ptolomes* appointment they translated the Scrip-

g *Hist. l.* 1.

h *Prolog. ad l.* 1

i *de Consolat ad Helv. c.* 7.

Scripture into Greeke, which they ſaid was done rightly by them, for Iſraell was indeed in *Egypt* but two hundred and ten yeeres, which collection they make from (*k*) the numerall letters of that ſpeech of *Iacob*, Gen. 42. 2. $\frac{17}{6}\ \frac{7}{4}\ \frac{7}{200}$ and there be many impreſſions in the Scripture, evidencing that their abode in *Egypt* was according to this computation. Saint *Paul* firſt taught this high point of Chronology, where and how the account muſt begin, namely at the time when the promiſe *was made to Abraham, for the Law was foure hundred and thirty yeeres after*, Gal. 3. 16, 17. God bidding *Abraham* get out of his *owne countrey, &c.* Gen. 12. 1. *makes a Covenant with him*, ver. 2. 3. *and Abraham was then ſeventy five yeeres old*, ver. 4. *Iſaac is borne twenty five yeeres after*, Gen. 21. 5. *Iacobs birth is ſixty yeeres after that*, Gen. 25. 26. *Iacob was one hundred and thirty yeeres old when hee went downe into Egypt*, Gen. 47. 28. which together make two hundred and fifteen yeeres, and two hundred and fifteen yeeres after they came all out of *Egypt*; for when the *foure hundred and thirty yeeres were expired, even the ſelfe ſame day departed all the Hoſts of the Lord out of the land of Egypt*, Exod. 12. 41. The computation of *Suidas* (*l*) in the margent is conſonant hereunto; and how theſe ſeventy in the ſpace of two hundred & fifteen yeers did encreaſe, is next to be declared, which is alſo plainly expreſſed, ver. 37. *They tooke their journey from Rameſes to Succoth, about ſix hundred thouſand men on foot, beſide children*, ſo great a multiplication of ſo few in ſo ſhort a time, may eaſily convince the poſſibility of a far greater augmentation from

k *Ben. Gor. p:*

l *In Voce Mavens.*

l *Suidas* thus computes the four hundred and thirty yeeres of Iſraels being in *Egypt*, and the land of *Canaan*:

From *Abrahams* going into *Charran* to *Iſaacs* birth, yeers	25
Thence to *Iacobs* Nativity.	60
From him to *Levi*.	87
From *Levi* to *Caath*.	45
From *Caath* to *Amram*.	63
From *Amram* to *Moſes*.	70
From *Moſes* to their *Exodus*, and going out.	80
Summe 430 yeeres.	

a beginning ſo vaſtly different, and the continuance ſo much ſurmounting. The Spaniards firſt comming into America was about the yeere one thouſand foure hundred and ninety: the great diſperſion of the Jewes immediately after our Saviours death at the deſtruction of *Ieruſalem*, was more then fourteen hundred yeeres before, and their former importation into the City of the Medes was ſeven hundred and fourty yeeres before that; if therefore upon either of the ſcatterings of that Nation, two thouſand or fourteen hundred yeeres, or leſſe then either number be allowed for the encreaſe of thoſe that were very many before, ſuch multitudes will not be miraculous: beſides, in all that time no forraign power did breake in among them; there were thence no tranſplantations of Colonies, no warres did eate up the inhabitants, but ſuch light battailes as they were able to manage among themſelves, in all that long time they did encreaſe and multiply without any extraordinary diminution, till that incredible havocke which was made by the Spaniſh invaſions and cruelties.

CHAP. IV.

Anſwer to the third Quære, about their becomming ſo barbarous.

IF ſuch a paſſage through *Tartary*, or ſome other Countrey for them were granted, and the probability of ſo numerous multiplication acknowledged, the perſwaſion will not yet be eaſie, that Jewes ſhould ever become ſo barbarous, horrid and inhumane, as bookes generally relate of theſe Americans.

Vil-

Villagagno (*a*) writing of the Brasilians to Master *Calvin*, speakes as if he had bin uncertaine at first whether he were come among beasts in an humane shape, so stupid he found them and sottish beyond imagination: But here every reader may take occasion to bemoane the woefull condition of mankinde, and into what rude, grosse, and unmanlike barbarities we runne headlong, if the goodnesse of God prevent us not.

a *Ler. Hist. pre* p. 8.

Wee marvaile at the Americans for their nakednesse, and man-devouring, we cannot believe the Jewes should be given over to such barbarity: But in our own Nation the Inhabitants were anciently as rude and horrid, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐθῆτος ἴσαν χρῆσιν, saith *Herodian*, the Britons knew not the use of apparell, lest their cloathing should hide the severall formes and figures of beasts and other creatures which they paint, and imprint upon their bodies; and *Hierome* saith, when he was a young man, he saw the Scots, *Gentem Britannicam humanis vesci carnibus*, and that even here of old were Anthropophagi, is averred by *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Strabo*. And to what hath bin said of the Jewes formerly, shall here be added.

In Sev. p. 83.

T. 2. Ep. p. 75.

Lib. 6. *Geor. l.* 4.

It seemes strange to us if they be Jewes, they should forget their religion, and be so odiously idolatrous, although after so many yeeres; but, if the Scripture had not spoken it, could it have bin believed of this very people, that they should fall so often into such foule offences, as, if circumstances be considered, have no parallell. *Israel*, when but newly delivered out of *Egypt*, by many signes and wonders, with severall evident and miraculous impressions of Gods Majesty and power; yet in six moneths space all is forgotten, they make unto themselves a God of their owne, attributing unto it all their deliverance, and say, *These be thy Gods O Israel*

rael which brought thee out of the land of Egypt. Exod. 32. 4. which baſe Idoll of theirs had not its nothing, till they were all come out ſafe thence; who can ſufficiently wonder that thoſe very people who ſaw and heard thoſe terrible things mentioned, *Exod.* 19, & 20. which forced them to ſay but a while before to *Moſes*, *Talke thou with us, and we will heare, but let not God talke with us, leaſt wee die*, Exod. 20. 19. Yea God himſelfe ſeems to admire at this, and for this to diſowne them, telling *Moſes*, *Thy people which thou haſt brought out of the land of Egypt, they are ſoon turned out of the way, &c.* Exod. 32. 8. It may ſeeme paſt beliefe any of *Iacobs* race ſhould be ſo unnaturall as to devoure one another, as is frequent among theſe Indians; and would it not bee as much beyond credit, if the *Scripture of truth*, Dan. 10. 21. had not aſſerted it, that theſe ſonnes of *Iacob* in former times when they had Prieſts and Prophets among them, and the remembrance of Gods juſtice and mercy was freſh in their minds, *That they ſhould then offer their ſonnes and daughters unto devills*, Pſal. 106. 36. as they did in the valley of *Hinnom*, 2 King 23. 10. ſmiting (*b*) on the Tabrets while their children were burning, that their cry could not be heard; tis not impoſſible therefore that the Jews ſhould be againe overwhelmed with ſuch ſavageneſſes and inhumanity; nor improbable neither, if to what hath bin ſaid three other things be added. 1. The threats of God againſt them upon their diſobedience, *Deut.* 28. where be words and curſes ſufficient to portend the greateſt calamity that can be conceived to fall upon the nature of man, as hath already bin in ſeverall things declared; and *M. Paris* (*c*) ſo anſwers the objection, that the Tartars are not Jewiſh, becauſe they know nothing of *Moſes* Law, nor righ-

b *Hier. in loc.*

c *Vbi ſupra.*

righteouſneſſe, &c. If when *Moſes* was alive, ſaith he, they were ſo ſtubborne and rebellious, and went after other Gods, they may be now much more prodigiouſly wicked, *even as theſe Americans*, being unknowne to other people, confounded alſo in their language and life, and God ſo revenging their abominations. 2. The ten Tribes in their owne land were become extreamely barbarous, renouncing all almoſt they had received from *Moſes*, *Ezek.* 36. 17. & 2 *King.* 17. their captivity is mentioned, and the ſinfull cauſe thereof, more then abominable Idolatries; and they were not onely guilty of wicked, but even of witleſſe impieties: God forbad them to walke after *the cuſtomes of the Nations*, Deut. 4. 8. *and yet*, as the Heathen in all their Cities, they built high places, making Images and groves upon *every high* hill, *and under every* green tree, and *made their ſonnes and daughters to paſſe through the fire, uſing witchcraft and enchantment, &c.* 2 King. 17. 8, 9. This was their religion and wiſdome while they were in their own Countrey, and they were no better in the land of their captivity; for it may be, they had not there the books of the Law, nor any Prophets among them, becauſe tis ſaid againe and againe, *They left the commandments of their God.* And if it ſeeme unlikely, that the Jewes being in America ſhould loſe the Bible, the Law, and ceremonies, then let the Propheſie of Hoſea be remembred, where tis foretold, that *the children of Iſrael ſhall remaine many daies without a King, and without a Prince, and without a Sacrifice, and without an Ephod, and without a Teraphim*, Hoſe. 3. 4. Yea and before that time there was a lamentable defection of religion in Iſraell.

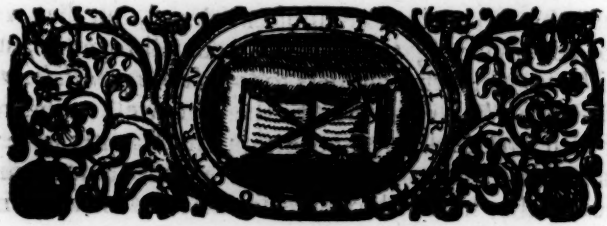
While they were in their owne land, for a long ſea-

ſon they *were without the true God, and without a reading Prieſt, and without Law*, 2 Chron. 15. 3. yea and as *Chryſoſtome* (*d*) affirmes that the Book of Deuteronomy had been loſt along time among Chriſtians, and was lately recovered from duſt and rubbiſh a little before his daies; ſo tis moſt certaine that in *Ioſiahs* reigne, *Hilkiah* the Prieſt found the Booke of the Law in the Houſe of the Lord, which when the King heard read unto him, hee was *aſtoniſht, as at a new and ſtrange thing, and rent his clothes*, 2 King, 22. 8. &c. *and this was the Booke of the law of the Lord given by Moſes*, 2 Chro. 34. 14. *which was then little knowne or regarded among them*, ver. 24, 25. &c. But thirdly, the ſtupor and dulneſſe of Iſraell was even admirable, when our Saviour came into the world, for they give no credit to their owne Prophets read in their Synagogues every Sabbath, the Shepherds publiſh what they received from the Angells concerning Chriſt, *Luk.* 2. 17. *Simeon* proclaimes glorious things of Jeſus, and they will not heare, ver. 25. Wiſe men came from the Eaſt to *Ieruſalem* enquiring and diſcourſing, but ſtill they apprehend not; yea they ſhut their eyes againſt all the marvailes that Chriſt performed among them, ſuch as would have convinced not onely *Tyre* and *Sidon*, but even *Sodome* and *Gomorrha*: the heavenly Sermons of the Sonne of God wrought upon ſtones, harlots, publicans and ſinners, but thoſe Jewes remaine inflexible againſt all, and at his death they ſtill continue ſeared and ſtupified; the veile of the Temple is rent, the earth did quake, the ſtones were cloven aſunder, and the graves did open, but their hearts are ſhut up ſtill; yea and at his reſurrection there was a great earthquake, the Angel of the Lord comes downe from heaven, his countenance is like lightning, for fear of him the keepers become as dead men, Chriſt riſeth againe

(*d*) *Chriſoſt. in 1 Cor. 2. m. Po 218.*

gaine in glory, and the watch ſhew the High Prieſts all theſe things, they are hereupon convinced, but they will not be convinced; for they take counſell together, and with mony hire the ſouldiers to ſay, *the diſciples ſtole away his body while they ſlept*; if it be therefore well conſidered of what dark & darkned condition the Iſraelites were in theſe times, how many yeeres have paſſed ſince, what meanes they have had to increaſe their rudeneſſe and incivility, and irreligion; no way, commerce, or means left to reclaime them, it will not ſeem ſo ſtrange if they be wholly barbarous, ſeeing alſo the vengeance of God lies hard and heavy upon them for their injuſtice done to his Sonne, *nam crucifixerunt* (e) *ſalvatorem ſuum & fecerunt damnatorem ſuum*, ſaith St. *Auſtin*, they crucified their Saviour, and made him their enemy and avenger. It is no marvaile then, ſuppoſing the Americans to be Jewes, that there be ſo few mentionings of Judaicall rites and righteouſneſſe among them; it may be, and is, a wonderfull thing rather, that any footſtep or ſimilitude of Judaiſme ſhould remaine after ſo many ages of great iniquity, with moſt juſt divine diſpleaſure therupon, and no poſſibility yet diſcerned how they ſhould recover, but manifeſt neceſſities almoſt of præcipitation into further ignorance, groſſeneſſe and impiety; the loſſe of which their cuſtomes and ceremonies, in ſo great a meaſure, in time may prove advantagious towards their converſion, ſeeing they cannot be obſtinate maintainers of Moſaicall Ordinances, the love and liking whereof and adheſion to them, was ever a prevailing obſtacle to the knowing Jewes, and that is a conſideration tending directly to the laſt part, and particular, and will helpe, I truſt, to encourage us who are already deſirous, not to civilize onely the Americanes, but even to Goſpellize and make them Chriſtian.

(e) *In Io. Tr.* 4.



Part Third.

Humble desires to all, for hearty endeavours in all, to acquaint the Natives with Christianity.

CHAP. I.

To the Planters, and touching the cause of their removall hence.

THis discourse will be directed to the English planted there, and our selves at home; concerning the former, three or foure things may be minded.

1. Cause of their removall.
2. Hope of the Natives conversion.

3. Directions to it.
4. Cautions, and ſome other additions.

Deep conſiderations, without doubt, and mature, were in thoſe that hence tranſplanted themſelves into that other part of the world, but *quo jure*, by what right and title they could ſettle in a forraigne land was ſurely none of their laſt enquiries. *Io. Bodin* (a) reckons five reaſons why Colonies may be planted in other Regions. 1. Expulſion from their own native Countrey. 2. Increaſe of inhabitants upon a land. 3. Want of neceſſaries at home, and unſeaſonable times. 4. Deſire to preſerve and enlarge their owne territories. 5. Favour to priſoners and captives. The ampliation of the Kingdome of Chriſt was expected here as a motive in vaine; but I finde it elſewhere among our Novangles, and it ſhall be mentioned in due place: for thoſe are cauſes why men goe out of their owne land, but for the *jus* and right of ſetling in another they ſay nothing.

(a) Meth. Hiſt. p. 522.

When the Biſhop *De las Caſas* had ſet forth his tract of the Spaniſh cruelties committed in the Indies, ſome guilty perſons he ſuppoſeth ſuborned Doctor *Sepulveda*, the Emperours Hiſtorian, to undertake their patronage, which he did in an elegant and rhetoricall diſcourſe, endeavouring to prove, that the Spaniſh wars againſt the Indians were juſt and lawfull, and that they were bound to ſubmit unto the Spaniards, as Ideots to the more prudent; but he could not obtaine leave to print a booke ſo irrationall and unchriſtian.

Caſas. p. 134. &c.

Their more plauſible plea is, that *Columbus* was firſt employed by them to diſcover ſome of thoſe parts; but the ſame offer was before tendred to this our Nation,

and

and the King thereof; yea and the Engliſh were as early in that very deſigne as the Portingales, for our (*b*) Chronicles ſhew that *Sebaſtian Gabat* or *Cabot*, borne at *Briſtol*, was employed by King *Henry* the ſeventh, and he with ſome *London* Merchants, adventured three or foure ſhips into thoſe New-found lands, *Anno* one thouſand foure hundred ninety eight; and it cannot be doubted, but they had made ſome former ſufficient experiments, before that their ſo confident engagement: Thence tis affirmed by others (*c*), that the Engliſh were there before *Columbus*, and about the yeere (*d*) one thouſand five hundred and two, three of thoſe Natives were brought unto the King, they were cloathed in beaſts skinnes, did eate raw fleſh, ſpake a language none could underſtand, two of thoſe men were ſeen at the Court at *Weſtminſter* two yeeres after, cloathed like Engliſhmen. But wee of this Nation have yet a more ancient claime, three hundred yeeres before *Columbus*, in the time of *Henry* the ſecond, *Anno Dom.* one thouſand one hundred and ſeventy; when *Madoc ap Owen Gwineth* did not onely diſcover the Countrey, but planted in ſome part of *Mexico*, and left Monuments of the Brittiſh language, and other uſages, taken notice of by the Spaniards, ſince their arrivall thither. Mr. *Herbert* (*e*) in his travailes doth not onely remember this, but ſheweth it to have bin mentioned by many worthy men of late, and ancient times, as *Cynwic ap Greue*, *Meredith ap Rhice*, *Gul. Owen*, *Lloyd*, *Powell*, *Hackluit*, *Davis*, *Broughton*. And *Purchas. l.* 4. *c.* 13. *p.* 807.

But yet more particularly, Dr *Donne* (*f*) allowes that as a juſtifiable reaſon of mens removall from one place to another, publique benefit; *Intereſt Reipublicæ ut re ſua quis bene utatur*, every one muſt uſe his private for the

b *Stow ad An.* 1501, & 1502.

c *Purchas. l.* 4. *c.* 13.

d *Stow. Ibid.*

e *L.* 3. *p.* 360.

f Sermon to *Virginia* Planters. *An.* 1622. *p.* 20. 26.

the common good: and if a State may take order that every man improve what he hath for the benefit of the Nation where he lives, then, *intereſt mundo*, all mankinde may every where, as farre as it is able, advance the good of mankinde in generall, which not being done by the Natives there, others are bound, at leaſt have liberty to interpoſe their endeavours, eſpecially, when by divine providence one land ſwells with inhabitants, and another is diſempeopled by mutuall broiles, infectious diſeaſes, or the cruelty of Invaders, all which have helped to ſweepe away the Americans, while the Engliſh in the meane time did multiply in ſuch manner and meaſure, as they could ſcarcely dwell one by another; and becauſe man is commanded more than once to *bring forth, multiply, and fill the earth*, Gen. 1. 28. 9. 1. he may well therefore, and juſtly looke abroad, and if he finde convenient and quiet habitation, he may call the name of that land *Rehoboth, becauſe the Lord hath made him roome*, Gen. 22. 26. That is alſo a lawfull cauſe of ſetling in other lands, when a right therein is acquired by purchaſe, as *Abraham bought of Ephron the field of Machpelah*, Gen. 22. 17. And thus *Paſpehai* (*h*) one of the Indian Kings ſold unto the Engliſh in *Virginia* land to inhabit and inherit; and when Mr *Williams* of late (*i*) called upon our Planters in New England to be humbled for making uſe of the Kings Patents, for removing hence, and reſiding there, he is well anſwered among other things, that they had thoſe lands from the Natives by way of purchaſe and free conſent. Againe, the Territories of ſtrangers may be poſſeſſed upon the donation and fore-gift of the naturall Inhabitants, as *Abimelech* ſaid to *Abraham*, *behold the land is before thee, dwell where it pleaſeth thee*, Gen. 20. 15. and

(*h*) Declara. of *Virginia*. p. 11.

(*i*) Mr *Cott.* anſ. p. 27, &c.

Pharaoh said to *Ioseph*, *in the land of Goshen let thy father and brethren dwell*, Gen. 47. 5, 6. So in *Virginia* King (*k*) *Powhatan* desired the English to come from *Iames* Town, a place unwholsome, and take possession of another whole Kingdome, which he gave them; thus the surviving (*l*) Indians were glad of the comming of the English to preserve them from the oppression of the next borderers; and surely divine providence making way, the care of emprovement, the purchase from the Natives, their invitation and gift, some, or all these, may satisfie the most scrupulous in their undertaking, or else what will such our inquisitors say to maintaine the right of their owne inheritances? The English invaded the Britons the ancient inhabitants of this Island, and crowded them into the nooke of *Wales*, themselves in the meane time taking possession of the fat of this Land, by what right, or by what wrong I dispute not, saith (*m*) *Crantzius*; but such in those daies were the frequent emigrations of people to seeke out new habitations.

k Declara. of *Virgin. vbi supra.*

l Mr *Cot. Ibid.*

m *Metrop.* 129.

To these that other expression of the eloquent Deane (*n*) may be added, *accepistis potestatem*, you have your Commissions, your Patents, your Charters, your Seale from that soveraigne power upon whose acts any private subject in civill matters may rely; and though our forenamed Country-man seemeth to slight the Pattent of New-England, as containing matter of falsehood and injustice, that (*o*) imputation also is sufficiently removed by Mr *Cotton* in that his answer before mentioned. And yet further, the desire and endeavour to plant Christianity there, will fortifie the former reasons, and sufficiently vindicate the transplantation of people, this (*p*) seales the great seale saith that

n *Ibid.*

o *Ib.* Mr *Cott.*

p *Ibid.*

that Doctor, authorizeth authority, and juſtifies juſtice it ſelfe, and Chriſtians may have learned this from our deare Maſter Chriſt, who coaſted the Countrey, and croſſed the ſeas (*q*) ſaith *Chryſologus*, not to ſatisfie humane curioſity, but to promote mans ſalvation; not to ſee diverſities of faces, but to ſeeke, and finde, and ſave loſt mankinde. And if ſuch be the aime of our Nation there, we may with more comfort expect and enjoy the externalls of the Indians, when wee pay them our ſpirituals, for their temporalls, an eaſie and yet moſt glorious exchange, the ſalvation of the ſalvages, to the hope of the one, the like ſound of the other may give encouragement; but that is the next conſideration.

q *Ser. 16. init*

CHAP. II.

Hope of the Natives converſion.

SAint *Paul* enforced himſelfe to preach the Goſpell where *Chriſt was not yet named*, Rom. 15.20. ſuch is the condition of that forlorne Nation, a good ſubject to worke upon, and if ſo good an end be propounded, the ſucceſſe by divine bleſſing will be anſwerable: and though the Countrey hath been knowne more than a Century of yeeres to Chriſtians, yet thoſe that came firſt among them, minded nothing leſſe than to make them ſuch. *Benzo* (*a*) relates abundantly how the Spaniards laid the foundation of their endeavours in bloud, their Fryers and religious perſons at firſt inſtigating them thereto. That Chriſtian King indeed gave them leave to ſubdue the Caniballs, but

a *Benzo. p. 76. 77. poſſimque.*

they destinate all the Nations to bitter bondage, proceeding therein with so much rigour and severity, that the Dominicans are constrained at length to complaine thereof to the Pope *Paul* the third, imploring from him a Bull for the reinfranchisement of the Indians, which they obtained, and brought into [illegible]*aine*, and presented it to *Charles* the fifth, who made them free to the griefe and losse of some of the Grandees, whose wealth and grandour consisted most in slaves; they were most prodigiously libidinous (*b*) also, contracting upon themselves most foule and pernicious diseases, that loathsome lust first brought into this world, the filthy and infectious contagion, now so much spoken of. Their covetousnesse was notorious also, the Indians scorned them for it, and for their sakes abominated the name of Christianity; and when they tooke any (*c*) of the Spaniards, they would bind their hands, cast them upon their backs, and poure gold into their mouths, saying, Eate, O Christians, eate this gold: Yea their lives were generally so odious, and opposite to godlinesse, that the same writer professeth, their scandalous conversation deterred the Americans from the Gospell; they did indeed teach some children of their Kings and Nobles, to read, and write, and understand the principles of Christianity, which they acknowledged to be good, and wondered that the Christians themselves so little practised them; and thus one of them bespake a (*d*) Spaniard, O Christian thy God forbids thee to take his name in vaine, and yet thou sweareſt upon every light occasion, and forsweareſt; your God saith, you shall not beare false witnesse, and you doe nothing else almost but slander, and curse one another; your God commands you to love your neighbour as your selfe,

b *Id.* p.11. *&c.*

c *Id.* p.100. 104, 248. *&c.*

d *Id. ibid. &c.*

but

but how are the poore injured by you? how doe you caſt them into priſon, and fetters, that are not able to pay their debts? and you are ſo farre from relieving needy Chriſtians, that you ſend them to our cottages for almes, ſpending your meanes and time in dice, theſts, contentions, and adulteries: He tells alſo of an Indian Prince, that was very apt and ingenious, he attained to a very good meaſure of learning and knowledge in religion, and was hopefull above others in both; but about the thirtieth yeere of his age, he deceived the expectation of friends, and became extremely debauched and impious, and being blamed for his bad change, his excuſe was, ſince I became a Chriſtian I have learned all this, to ſweare by the name of God, to blaſpheme the holy Goſpell, to lie, to play at dice; I have gotten a ſword alſo to quarrell, and that I may be a right Chriſtian indeed, I want nothing but a concubine, which I intend alſo ſhortly to bring home to my houſe; And *Benzo* further addes, when himſelfe reprehended an Indian for dicing and blaſpemy (*e*), hee was preſently anſwered, I learned this of you Chriſtians, &c. And if it be ſaid, *Benzo* was an Italian, and laies the more load upon the Spaniards, as no friend to that Nation, *Bartholomeus de las Caſas* (*f*) one of their owne, and a Biſhop alſo, is as liberall in telling their faults, as hath been in part mentioned already; the Natives indeed are capable and docible, but theſe other tooke no care to lead them unto godlineſſe, either by word or example; but this, ſaith that Spaniſh Biſhop, was the manner of their goſpelizing them; In the night they publiſhed their edict, ſaying, O yee Caciques and Indians of this place, which they named, wee let you all know, that there is one God, one Pope, one King of *Caſtile*, who is

(*e*) *Id.* p. 251.

(*f*) *Caſas.* p. 27. 101. 115.

the Lord of these lands, come forth therefore presently and doe your homage, and shew your obedience to him; so in the fourth watch of the night the poore Indians dreaming of no such matter, men women and children were burnt in their houses together: He affirmeth againe, they regarded no more to preach the Gospell of Christ to the Americans, than if they had bin dogs, and their soules to perish with their bodies; he tells further of one *Colmenero*, who had the soule-care of a great City, being asked what he taught the Indians committed to his charge, his answer was, he cursed them to the Devill; and it was sufficient if he said to them, *per signin santin cruces*, by the signe of the holy crosse. The Spanish instruction then, it is evident, was the Natives destruction, and not so much a plantation as a supplantation, not a conscientious teaching, but a Lion-like rather devouring of soules; their errors may warne and rectifie us, yea and sharpen our edge, seeing these poore Indians be not indocible, and shall be converted; and be they Jewes or Gentiles, as there is much rudenesse and incivility among them, so many hopefull things have bin observed of them; and as *Aristotle* said of the humane soule at its first immission, it was a new planed table, The Americans in like manner saith *P. Martyr* (*g*), are capable, and docible, mindelesse of their owne ancient rites, readily believing and rehearsing what they be taught concerning our faith; *Acosta* (*h*) declares them not onely to be teachable, but in many things excelling many other men, and that they have among them some politique principles admired by our wisest statists; their naturall parts and abilities were visible in that their whale-catching and conquest mentioned (*i*) already, yea they are saith *Ben-*

g p. 100. 104.

h *Hist. l. 6. c. 1.*

i Epist. before.

Zo

Zo (k), very apt to imitate the faſhion of the Chriſtians; if wee kneele at our devotion, they will kneele alſo; if wee reverently lift up our hands or eyes at prayer, they will do the like: *Lerius* (l) writeth ſeverall obſervable things, of their aptneſſe and capacity, that they be quickely ſenſible of their owne blindneſſe, eaſily deterred from lying and ſtealing; they told us, (m) ſaith he, that very long agoe, they could not tell how many Moones ſince, one came among them cloathed and bearded like unto us, endeavouring to perſwade us unto another kinde of Religion, but our Anceſtors would not then heare; and if wee ſhould now forſake our old uſages, all our neighbours would ſcorne and deride us; hee found them of tenacious memories, if they heare but once one of our names, they forget them no more: and as hee walked in the woods upon a time with three of thoſe Braſilians, his heart was ſtirred up to praiſe God for his workes, it was in the ſpring of the yeere, and hee ſang the hundred and fourth Pſalme, one of them deſired to know the reaſon of his joy, which when he had mentioned, with the meaning alſo of the Prophet, the Indian replyed, Oh Mayr, ſo they call the French, how happy are you that underſtand ſo many ſecret things, that are hidden from us! And when the Natives of *Virginia* (o) heard Mr *Harriot* ſpeake of the glory of the great God, ſhewing them his booke, the Bible, many of them touched it with gladneſſe, kiſſed, and embraced it, held it to their breaſts, and heads, and ſtroaked their bodies all over with it, and in (p) *Guiana* they deſired Captaine *Leigh* to ſend into *England* for inſtructors, and one of them was ſo well taught, that he profeſſed at his death, he died a Chriſtian, a Chriſtian of *England*. But the (q) Sunne-riſing of the Goſpel with the Indi-

k p. 32.444.

l Preſat. p. 38.

m Id. p. 221. 225.

n Id. 230. 248. 301. &c.

o Cap Smith. p. 11.

p Book of that Plant. Anno 1632. p. 12.

q Treatiſes thereof.

ans

ans in New England, with the breaking forth of further light among them, and their enquiry after the knowledge of the worlds Saviour, &c. hath been abundantly discovered by our Brethren there of late, to our very great rejoycing, and for the encouragement of them and others. To what hath been said, let me adde what some (*r*) suppose they read foretold concerning the Americans accesse to Christ, out of Philip. 2. 10. *At the name of Iesus every knee shall bow, of things in heaven, things on earth, and things under the earth, i. e.* Heavenly things, Saints already converted, earthly, such of the knowne world as the Apostles were then labouring to Gospellize, under the earth, that is, the Americans which are as under us, and as Antipodes to us, and live as it were under, beneath, in the lower parts of the world; for it is not like hee should speake of the corporally dead, their bodies not being under, but rather in the earth, *& inferi, infernus*, doe not alwaies meane Hell, and the place of the damned, but the regions as under us sometimes, that be opposite to us, as that Epistle, said to be brought by a winde from the upper to the nether world, had those words first, *Superi inferis salutem*, wee above the earth wish health to them under it; and thus the captive Indians (*s*) told the English Planters: Wee therefore seeke your destruction, because wee heare you are a people come under the world to take our world from us. Others finde their conversion præfigured in that threat, Mat. 25. 30. *Cast the unprofitable servant into utter darknesse*, those *tenebræ exteriores*, outward darknesses (*t*) are *regiones exteræ*, the outer and forraigne nations in the judgement of *Remigius*; and some conceive the same to be fore-signified by the Prophet *Obadiah*, ver. 20. *The captivity of Ierusalem shall*

r *Malvenda ubi supra.* p. 150.

s Cap. *Smith.* p. 63.

t *Barradius.* T. 2. *l.* 8. *c.* 4.

ſhall poſſeſſe the Cities of the South. i.e. of America, ſo ſituate, or, the dry cities, that Countrey being much under the Torrid Zone; *Acoſta* (*u*) confidently applyeth thus this text, as ſome others doe that of *Eſa. 66. 19.* *Fredericus Lumnius* (*w*) in his booke *De vicinitate extremi judicii*, findes or makes divers other Scriptures look this way, upon that ground, three ſorts of people ſhould be in the Church of Chriſt at ſeverall times, Jewes formerly, Chriſtians now, and theſe Indians afterwards; he citeth *Hilary* thus underſtanding that parable of the talents, the poſſeſſor of five is the Jew, hee that had two talents is the Gentile, then knowne, hee that received one, a people all carnall and ſtupid; and according to this triple time of the Church, and order of believers, hee expoundeth other Scriptures, Zach. 13. 8. Mat. 13. 3. and the three Watches, Luk. 12. 38. and craving pardon of his raſhneſſe, or rather *fidei neſcientis menſuram ſuam*, of his faith not knowing its owne meaſure, hee further allegorizeth the former parable, The Jewes had one Talent, the ancient and preſent Chriſtians two, Law and Goſpell, and the ſervant to whom five Talents were given, by which hee gained other five, is the Indian and American nation, laſt in time converted, and called after others into the vineyard; but it ſhall be more abundant in obeying the Goſpell, more fervent in charity, more zealous of good workes, and therefore *Malvenda* (*x*) will have thoſe to *be the dry Cities* before mentioned out of *Obad.* ver. 20. Becauſe they ſhall ſo much thirſt after the Goſpell; for that younger ſiſter of the foure, ſaith (*y*) one of her friends in this *England*, is now growne marriageable, and daily hopes to get Chriſt to her husband by the preaching of the Goſpel. *Comines* (*z*) ſaid of the Engliſh

u *De nat. Novi Orb. l. 1. c. 15.*

w p. 85. 93. &c.

x *Malvenda ubi ſupra. P. 154.*

y *Ho. Sta. p. 194.*

z *Hiſt. l. 1.*

lish that they were much addicted to, and taken with Prophecies and predictions, I believe that is incident to all Nations, Some even among these have foretold of the mutation of their rites, and religion, as hath bin mentioned, and in reference to their Gospelizing (a) a divine and propheticall Poet hath printed his thoughts hereof in severall particulars.

a *Herberts* sacr. Poems, p. 150.

Religion stands on tiptoe in our land,
Ready to passe to the American strand;
When height of malice, and prodigious lusts,
Impudent sinning, witchcrafts, and distrusts,
The markes of future bane, shall fill our cup
Vnto the brim, and make our measure up;
When Sein *shall swallow* Tiber, *and the* Thames
By letting in them both pollute her streames;
When Italy *of us shall have her will,*
And all her Calendar of sins fulfill,
Whereby one may foretell what sins next yeer
Shall both in France *and* England *domineer,*
Then shall Religion to America *flee,*
They have their times of Gospell even as wee:
My God, thou dost prepare for them a way,
By carrying first from them their gold away,
For gold and grace did never yet agree,
Religion alwaies sides with poverty;
Wee thinke wee rob them, but we thinke amisse,
Wee are more poore, and they more rich by this;
Thou wilt revenge their quarrell, making grace
To pay our debts, and leave our ancient place,
To goe to them, while that, which now their Nation
But lends to us, shall be our desolation, &c.

ere

Here is a ſad prognoſticke for this *England*, but a joyfull calculation for America, longing, thirſting America; and if ſuch be their ripeneſſe and deſire, wee ſhould alſo make haſte to ſatisfie them, *The harveſt there is great*, and the *Regions are already white* thereto; the *labourers indeed are* few, tis more then time that the *Lord of the harveſt were more earneſtly intreated to ſend, to thruſt* forth labourers into this Harveſt: they that have gone into thoſe parts have not all had a care of this, the harveſt of ſoules. It was indeed the profeſſion of *Villagagno*, and the purpoſe ſurely of *Peter Richiers*, and *Will. Charter* Paſtors, and others from *Geneva*, *Anno*, one thouſand five hundred fifty ſix, to publiſh the Goſpel there, and they were very ſerious therein, yea and *Lerius*, (*b*) one of them, believes they had bin ſucceſſefull alſo, if that Apoſtate Governour had not become a moſt cruell perſecutor of the Reformed Religion in that ſtrange land, where he moſt barbarouſly murthered three of thoſe his owne Countrey men, and the aforeſaid *Lerius* piouſly took care that their Martyrdom ſhould be commemorated by *Io. Criſpin* in his Hiſtory; and though theſe were not ſo happy in that holy attempt, others have not been, will not be diſcouraged in ſuch a worke; a worke worthy of the choiceſt diligence of thoſe that profeſſe the glorious Goſpel in ſincerity, who have had alſo many and manifold experiments of divine favour in their ſeverall preſervations, directions, and accommodations; and becauſe their friends (with praiſe to God, and thanks to them for what is done and declared already) deſire to know more of thoſe their pious and bleſſed endeavours, Let me adde a third conſideration, Wiſhes of furtherance and direction in ſuch great and gracious employments, which ſhall

b *Lerius.* p. 62. 300. 338.

be, I hope, and pray, as a spurre to more able advisers to bring in every one somewhat or other towards the erecting of a Tabernacle for our God in America.

CHAP. III.

Directions towards the conversion of the Natives.

SOme give violent counsell here, presuming they find it in that parable, Luk. 14.23. *compell them to come in*; but judicious (a) *Austin* calls this *Amoris, non timoris tractum*, not a force of feare, but of love, producing the example of a sheepe following the shepherd holding a green bough in his hand; and tis the sentence of a serious Historian (b) among the Gentiles, such are worthy of pitty not hatred, that erre from the truth, for they doe it not willingly, but being mistaken in judgement, they adhere to their first received opinions; and the Saints in the first times never thought outward compulsion a fit meane to draw on inward assent. The Evangelicall Prophet foretold this, *They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountaine saith the Lord*, Esa. 65 last. And our most deare Lord himselfe saith, *The sonne of man is not come to destroy mens lives, but to save them*, Luk. 9.56. Saint *Iames* derives the pedigree of that wisdome which *hath bitter envying and strife, though it be but* in heart, though it may rejoyce and thinke highly of it selfe, yet its parentage is from that Cerberus of iniquity, *the world, the flesh, and the devill*,

a *In loc.*

b *Agathias. l.* 1.

deviſt, Jam. 3. 15. But regenerated Saints delight ſurely in that wiſdome which is from above, and that *is firſt pure, then peaceable, gentle, eaſie to be intreated, full of mercy, &c.* Jam. 3. 17. Full of mercy, no roome therfore for violence and cruelty; and the holy men of the next ages were children of this wiſdome. 'Tis not Religion, ſaith *Tertullian* (*c*), to compell Religion, which ought to be introduced by perſwaſion, not force; for even ſacrifices of old were expoſtulated from willing mindes; our Church hath nothing to doe with murther, and bonds. (*d*) *Athanaſius* never committed any man to a Goaler, ſaith hee himſelfe in his Apology; and againe, the truth is not to be preached with ſwords, and darts, and Armies, but by reaſon and Arguments, which finde no place among them whoſe contradiction is requited with ſuffering, baniſhment, and death: the Ancient Chriſtians abound with mentionings of this kind; It is ſaid indeed of (*e*) *Charles* the great, that conquering the Saxons, he commanded them to embrace Chriſtianity, and that he dealt in ſuch a manner with the Hungarians, and ſome others; yea and though there be that ſpeake the like of *Conſtantine*, yet *Euſebius* (*f*) writeth confidently, he wiſhed all, commanded no man to be a Chriſtian, and for this *Oroſius* (*g*) commends him, that he ſhut up the Pagan Temples, but offer'd no violence to mens perſons. The Devill indeed, becauſe he is no friend to truth, comes with axes and hatchets, but our Saviour is gentle, and with a ſweet voice ſaith, *Open unto me my ſiſter, my love, &c. Cant.* 5. 2, 5. and if they open, he enters, if not, he departeth, ſaith *Athanaſius* in the fore-cited place.

c *Ad Scap. init.*

d *Apolog.* 2. p. 300. 450.

e *Crantz. l.* 1. c. 7. *l.* 2.

f *De Vit. conſt. l.* 2. *c.* 55.

g *Hiſt.* p. 100.

Foure things did eſpecially aſſiſt in the firſt converting of people to Chriſt, beſides thoſe miraculous

helps; and if they be now conſcienciouſly practiſed, God will ſhew himſelfe mervellous in his bleſſing. 1. Language, the neceſſity thereof was viſible in *thoſe cloven tongues as of fire*, the hiſtory whereof wee read *Act.* 2. 1. *&c.* Men muſt learne the ſpeech of the Natives, that dealing by Interpreters muſt needs be difficult, tedious, and not ſo ſucceſſefull; *Meinardus* (*h*) of old firſt gained the tongue of the Livonians, and then became an happy inſtrument of their converſion; and (*i*) *Chryſoſtome* did the like with the Scythians; and the French Colony (*k*) propounded and promiſed the ſame courſe at their firſt planting in America, as they certified Mr *Calvin* in their letters; and the Engliſh in (*l*) *Virginia* labouring to bring the Natives to Chriſtianity, were woefully impeded therein by the ignorance of their language, which defect in themſelves they did both acknowledge and bewaile. 2. *Labouring in the word* was required and practiſed, *Mat.* 28. *Act.* 20. 18. and *paſſim* Preachers ſhould be appointed with all diligence to inſtruct the Indians; for *men* are *begotten to Chriſt by the word of truth*, Jam. 1. 18. The Iberians (*m*) received the firſt inckling of the goſpell by a Chriſtian maid-ſervant that was a captive among them; and they ſent afterwards unto *Conſtantine* the Emperour for Preachers; the old Indian told the Spaniſh prieſt (*n*) complaining of their averſeneſſe to the Goſpell, The lawes of Chriſt wee confeſſe are better than ours, but wee cannot learne them for want of teachers, wherein he ſpake the truth, the very truth ſaith *Acoſta*, to our very ſhame and confuſion. 3. The piety and holineſſe of thoſe Apoſtolicall Chriſtians was exceeding and exemplary, by which as well as by their preaching they woo'd and wonne Kingdomes and people to Chriſtianity; their

h *Tripartit. l.* 10. *c.* 5.

i *Vit. per G. Patriark.*

k *Ep.* p. 439.

l Cap. *Smith.* p. 20. 37. *&c.*

m *Sozem. l.* 2. *c.* 6.

n *Hiſt. l.* 6. *c.* 25

their enemies could find no other fault in them, but that that they were Chriſtians: our deare Maſters generall command was univerſally practiſed, the light of their holy lives did ſhine to Gods glory, and the benefit of others; thus *Victor Vticenſis* (o) ſheweth that *Caprapicta* was converted as well by the piety and godlineſſe, as by the preaching of the Africans; as on the other ſide the impiety of the Spaniards deterred the Americans from the Goſpell. 4. Bleſſing was fetched downe from heaven by prayer, this was their *πυρ*, their only worke in a manner, prayer *and miniſtration of the word*, Act. 6. 4. Thus (p) *Socrates* reporteth, that after ſeven daies faſting and ſupplication the Burgundians were Chriſtianized; ſo *Crantzius* (q) tells of thoſe northern Nations that by prayer and preaching they prevailed to bring many other people to Chriſt: If men doe now worke with theſe tooles, the building will goe up apace, the foundation being laid in the honour of God by the converſion of thoſe that yet remaine in the ſhadow of death; in all which ſome furtherance might be found, by knowing and obſerving the diſpoſitions, faſhions, and cuſtomes of the Natives, which would alſo in a good meaſure be underſtood by ſerious converſes with them, and by ſeverall bookes that from ſeverall places upon ſeverall occaſions have been written of them; and to all let be added ſtudious induſtry, that ſome Indian children be taught Chriſtianity, and trained up to ſuch abilities that they may have skill to inſtruct their own Countrey men.

o p. 388.

p. l. 7. c. 30.

q *ubi ſupra.* p. 16.

It was *Gregories* counſell to further the converſion of our Countreymen here, they ſhould buy Engliſh children and youths of ſeventeen or eighteen yeeres, that might be educated in Gods ſervice, and helpful this way.

Lib. 5. Ep. 10.

The

The Franciscan that had been so many yeeres among them, and learned two of their languages, and used much diligence in this worke in his way, told *Benzo* (r), that of necessity such a course must be taken to Gospellize them, all other endeavours would be fruitlesse and labour in vaine; and that writer (s) sheweth how those of *Peru* were well contented to deliver their young ones to be taught in Christianity; and surely their Fathers and Countrey-men would sooner listen unto them than unto strangers. And in all these the good counsell of the holy Apostle must be remembred, walke wisely toward them which are without, *Colos.* 4. 5. not onely in watchfulnesse and care to prevent all dangers from them, but in the most pious wisdome of winning soules, *Prov.* 11. 30. by setting before them in practise also the examples of every grace and vertue, with the perfect hatred of all vice and ungodlinesse; and let me have favour here to commend 3 or 4 cautions.

r *Benzo*. p. 256.

s *Id.* p. 390.

CHAP. IV.

Cautions.

1. TAke heed and beware of cruelty, the God of mercy hates nothing so much, saith (a) *Theophilact* as unmercifulnesse; the badge of Christ is clemency, his livery love; by this it shall be knowne that you are my Disciples, saith our deare Master himselfe, if yee love one another, *Ioh.* 13. 35. Other mens followers were known by their garments and colours, but charity and love made the first Christians

a In Math. 16.

ſtians famous over all the old heathen world, but in the new World the Spaniards die was not ſo black as bloudy, and the Indians called them (*b*) Yares, *i. e.* devills, ſo little humanity, as they conceived, was viſible among them. The ſame Biſhop, when he made an whole book of the Spaniſh cruelties which he ſaw executed by them on the Indians, proteſteth it was his opinion, that hee ſcarce mentioned one of a thouſand of their tyrannies; and more than once or twice he averreth, that they allwaies grew from bad to worſe, and exceeded themſelves in their diabolicall doings. Nothing is more odious to this day than their name in thoſe Countries; for where ever the ſpaniſh Chriſtians diſplayed their banners ſaith *Benzo* (*c*), they imprinted upon the Natives by their horrid cruelties, eternall monuments of implacable hatred towards them; but the faire, civill, and gentle deportment of our Nation to the Natives, hath already wonne much upon them, as is acknowledged by a (*d*) forraigne pen.

b *Caſas.* p. 66.

p. 35.

p. 34. 99.

c p. 11.

d *Io. de Laet. Deſcr. Amer. pref.*

2. *Take heed and beware of covetouſneſſe*, tis our ſweet Saviours own ingeminated command, *Luk.* 12. 15. happy ſhall the Natives be, and we alſo, if they find *our converſation without covetouſneſſe*, Heb. 13. 5. that they may ſee and ſay, the Engliſhmen ſeeke not ours, but us, and us, not to make us ſlaves to themſelves, but fellow ſervants to Chriſt our common Maſter; they ſaw the Spaniards ſo guilty of this (*e*) evill, that they conceived them to adore no other God but gold, the obſervation of which fetched from (*f*) *Benzo* that pious exoptation, I wiſh to God, ſaith hee, wee were no more addicted to earthly things than they, the name of Chriſtian would be glorious were it not for our covetouſnes; the Spaniards indeed tell faire ſtories, ſome of them, as

e *Caſas.* p. 22.

f p. 118.

if their sole desire had been to Christianize the Natives, when indeed all their endeavour was to satisfie their lust and avarice; and *Acosta* (*g*) himselfe cannot deny but that his Countreymen did commit many great outrages for gold and silver; but where those metalls were not to be found, they made no stay, continued not in such places; and *Benzo* (*h*) is large in producing their frequent and suddaine removes upon this occasion, and he tells that the Bracamorians are unsubdued by the Spaniards to this day, not so much because they are a warlike people in their kind, but especially by reason of their poverty and indigence.

g *Hist. l.* 4 *c.* 2.

h p. 204.

3. Take heed and beware of complying with them in any of their rites and ceremonies, if we intend they should indeed come out of *Egypt*, *let not an hoofe be left*, as Exod. 10. 25. let them have Christian religion purely, without blinding or blending; the wisdome of the flesh must not here be heard, wee must listen to no other but the counsell of the Spirit. It was (*l*) good advice the godly Bishop and martyr *Hooper* gave to King *Edward* the sixth and his honourable privy Councellors, As yee have taken away the Masse from the people, so take from them her feathers also, the Altar, vestments, and such like as apparell'd her: there hath not doubtlesse, been any one thing so powerfull in begetting and maintaining doctrinall quarrells in Christendome, as the unhappy complication with nations and people in some of their supposed tollerable rites at their first approaching to Christianity; the Pagans of old, saith *Rhenanus* (*m*), were relieved by the mutation of some things in their religion, whose universall abolition had irritated, if not totally scared them from us; and *Acosta* (*n*) concurres with him in this matter, even in reference

l Ep. before serm. in Jona.

m In *Tertul.* p. 103.

n *Hist. l.* 6. *c.* 28

rence to the Indians: How this policy prevailed at firſt in the Church was long ago obſerved, and it became the lamentation of latter times, when men were more tenacious of humane ſuperſtructures, than of the fundamentalls laid by Jeſus Chriſt, the ſhell and ſhadow of Gentile ceremony is yet more carefully hunted after by the Man of *Rome*, than the moſt ſolid and ſubſtantiall truths of the Goſpel; pitty it is, that ſenſe and eye-dazlelings ſhould prevaile more than divine verities, that abundance of good things ſhould breed ſurfets, and yet it will ever be thus, where there is want of care and ſpirituall exerciſe at home, and but cold endeavours to promote piety and godlineſſe abroad.

4. Take heed and beware of all and every ungodlineſſe, not onely for your owne ſakes, but that the ſweet name of our *God be not blaſphemed among the Nations*, Rom. 2.24. Holy examples are a nearer way to righteouſneſſe than verball precepts and inſtructions; the Indians may, *even without the word, be won to the truth by a godly converſation*, as St. *Peter* ſpeaketh in the like caſe, 1 Pet. 3. 1. a corrupt life is a violent argument perſwading to evill; the Americans were ſcared from Chriſtianity by the ſcandalous iniquities of the Spaniards.

The evil example of one ungodly Chriſtian did more hinder the Indians converſion, than an hundred of their religious could further it, * he ſaith it, who ſaw what he ſpake, for they are verily perſwaded that of all the Gods in the world, the Spaniards God is the worſt, becauſe hee hath ſuch abominable and wicked ſervants. *Benzo* (*i*) tells of a confabulation himſelfe had with an old Indian, who in ſerious diſcourſe ſaid unto him, O Chriſtian! what kind of things be Chriſtians, they exact Mayz, Honey, Silke, an Indian woman for a concubine,

* *Caſ. in ud. Hiſt.* P. 116.

Id. ibid.

(*i*) *l.* 2. *c.* 16.

bine, they require gold and silver, Christians will not worke, they dice, blaspheme, &c. when I replyed, evil Christians onely doe such things, not such as be good, his answer was ready, but where are those good Christians? I could never yet see one of them; and not this American onely, but a Franciscan Fryer publickly affirmed, that not a Priest, nor Monke, nor Bishop in all India, was worthy of the name of a good man; *Didacus Lopez* (*k*) in his Epistle to the Bishop of *Guattimala*, saith, the Christians were so prodigiously wicked, that they were odious not onely to heaven and Angells, but even to the earth, and devills; doe you believe saith hee, the Indians will become Christians, when your selves are not so but in name onely, and in title? surely those silly nations will sooner be perswaded to good by the example of one daies conversation, than by an whole yeers preaching; for to what purpose doe wee strew among the people odoriferous roses with our tongues and language, if we sting and vex them in the meane time with the thornes of our wicked doings.

k Benzo. p. 257.

But our Countrey men take care to follow the aforementioned injunction of the holy Apostle, *Col.* 4. 5. they walke righteously, or as in our old English it was, in right wiseneſſe, so they called righteousneſſe, towards them without; and so their charter on earth, as well as those letters patents from Heaven, wills that the English be so religiously, peaceably, and civilly governed, as their good life and orderly conversation may winne and incite the Natives of the Countrey to the knowledg and obedience of the onely true God and Saviour of mankinde, and the christian faith, which in our regall intention and the Adventurers free profession, is the principall end of this plantation.

charter.

And

And let theſe words be underſtood, as awakenings to thoſe of our Nation there, and our ſelves alſo, that wee all labour mutually, and from our hearts, to propagate the Goſpell there, becauſe wee, who *eate every man of his owne vine, and of his owne figtree, and drinke every man water out of his own ciſterne*, Eſa. 36. 16. ſhould witneſſe our thankfulneſſe unto God, for theſe favours, by ſympathizing affections towards our brethren there, and the Natives.

CHAP. V.

To the Engliſh here, and firſt in behalfe of the Planters there.

THey ſhould have our hearts and love for many reaſons, How many felicities did they forſake, both of the right hand, and of the left, in reſpect of eſtate, friends, and the comfort of their owne native ſoile? It was ſaid by the Prophet, *Weepe for him that goeth out, for hee ſhall returne no more to ſee his owne Countrey*, Jer. 22. 20. beſides, that *dulcis amor patriæ*, how many hazards did they runne into by dangerous and tedious ſea-voyages? they were expoſed to divers certaine inconveniences, not only in regard of externalls, change of aire, diet, &c. but change of men eſpecially, having little ſecurity, becauſe they were in daily dread of Indian trechery, which might then fall upon them, when they ſuppoſed it moſt remote; they have alſo left more roome at home, of which wee were wont to have more need than company, which encreaſed ſo faſt, that

wee were ready to extrude one another; and by them we have more ſtrength abroad, becauſe tranſplanted colonies (*a*) be domeſtique fortifications, though they have been invented ſometimes, and uſed to abate popular undertakings, but I meane it in the Roman interpretation, the Nations where they fix, are reduced by degrees to their faſhions, lawes, and commands: yet ſome have unnaturally followed thoſe our Countrey men with reproaches, accounting them ſo baſe, as not worthy to be *ſet with the dogs of their flocke*, as one to them applyed that of Job 30. 1.

a *Clapmar arcan. Reip.* P. 52.

To the Weſterne Plantation indeed, at firſt men of meane condition generally reſorted, but ſoon after people of better ranke followed; divers of good families, and competent eſtates went into *Virginia*, and ſetled in ſome Iſlands thereabouts, but becauſe thoſe of New-England pretended more to Religion than the reſt, they are more loaden with uncivill language, but moſt injuriouſly; for the tranſplanting Novangles were many of them ſeverally eminent, ſome of noble extract, divers Gentlemen deſcended from good Families; their firſt Charter mentions three Knights, among other men of worth; and it ſeemes their example, or ſomewhat elſe was like to prevaile with many others of no meane condition, ſo that eleven of the then Privy Counſell directed their letters in *December*, one thouſand ſix hundred thirty foure, to the Warden of the Cinque ports, taking notice that ſeverall perſons went over with their families, and whole eſtates, forbidding ſubſidy men, or of the value of ſubſidy men to be imbarqued without ſpeciall licence and atteſtation of their taking the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, ſubmiſſion alſo to the Orders and diſcipline of the

40 *Caroli.*

Church

Church of *England*: And three yeeres after, *viz.* one thouſand ſix hundred thirty ſeven, a proclamation iſſued from the King to the ſame purpoſe, and in the ſame words.

Others inſtead of affections and hearts, ſling darts after them, and ſay, *they are gone out from us indeed, but they were not of us*, 1 Joh. 2. 19. neither liking our doctrine nor governement. Yet ſurely they differ not at all from us in Religion, witneſſe our owne confeſſion and their profeſſion; and for the firſt, our learned men have continually acknowledged the Puritans to conſent with them in Doctrinalls, Archbiſhop *Sands* (*b*) in his Sermon before Queene *Elizabeth* more than once aſſerteth this, We have here faith he, to praiſe our God, that in publique doctrine touching the ſubſtance of religion wee all agree in one truth, the greater pitty it is we ſhould ſo much diſſent in matters of ſmall importance, in rites and circumſtances; the Puritanicall errors did not at all oppoſe any part of our Religion, but it continued moſt ſound even to the dying day of that moſt renowned Princeſs, ſaith he that (*c*) analyſed our thirty nine Articles, and ſo printed them by authority; and King *Iames* (*d*) averreth the like of his Scottiſh Puritans, We all God be thanked agree in the grounds, and after his reception of this Crowne, hee calls (*e*) the Engliſh Puritan a Sect rather than a Religion; and in his Declaration againſt *Vorſtius* (*f*), hee joyneth his Churches of great Britaine with thoſe of *France* and *Germany*, oppoſing them all againſt *Vorſtius*, *Bertius*, and the Arminians; Notwithſtanding the *Diſciplinarian* quarrell ſaith (*g*) Biſhop *Andrewes*, we have the ſame faith, the Cardinall is deceived, or deceiveth, in uſing the word Puritans, as if they had another Religion

b Serm. p. 81, 82. &c.

c *Rogers* pref. p. 19.

d Pref. *Baſil. Dor.*

e Parlia. ſpe. *Anno.* 1603.

f His workes. p. 358.

g *Reſ. ad Apol.* p. 28.

on differing from that publiquely professed, and this hath been the unanimous asseveration of English Bishops, and other learned Divines, as were easie abundantly to declare. But themselves have spared us that labour, by their constant acknowledgement thereof; Mr. *Rogers* (*h*) in his forecited Analysis, produceth their owne writings to this purpose, and what one of them can be named that refused subscription to those 39 Articles in reference to matters of Doctrine; Mr. *Browne* tis thought, went as farre astray as any here, yet I have seen his owne (*i*) hand declaring at that time his allowance of all those Synodicall Articles; and left any should imagine the Novangles differing from us in dogmaticall truths, besides many, very many printed bookes testifying their concurrence with us herein, beside divers private Letters, that subscribed by the Governour and principall assistants sufficiently manifests their judgement and affection, wherein they desire to be accounted our brethren, and implore our prayers; adding, howsoever our charity may have met with some discouragements through the misreport of our intentions, or through disaffection, or indiscretion of some among us, for wee dreame not of perfection in this world, yet would you be pleased to take notice of the principall and body of this Company, as those that are not ashamed to call the Church of *England* our deare Mother, and cannot part from her without teares in our eyes, but shall ever acknowledge that such part and hope as we have obtained in the common salvation, we received it in her bosome, and sucked it from her breasts, &c.

h *Rogers passim.*

i *M. S.*

From South-Hampton.

John Winthrop, Governour.

Rich: Saltonstall.

Tho: Dudly, &c.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

THere is another injaculation that hath gone current among many, that the Puritane of old and New-England is Antimonarchicall, the former is ſufficiently cleared by that Biſhop, who hath left this teſtimony, (*a*) *Presbyterio lis eſt cum Epiſcopis, cum Regе nulla eſt*, or if that be not enough, King *Iames* (*b*) in this is an irrefragable Aſſertor, The Puritans do not decline the oath of Supremacy, but daily take it, never refuſed it; and the ſame ſupremacy is defended by (*c*) *Calvin* himſelfe. And in New-England Mr. *Williams* (*d*) ſeemed in other things to be extravagant, yet thus he writes to this point: For the Government of the Common-wealth from the King, as ſupreme, to the inferiour and ſubordinate Magiſtrates, my heart is on them, as once *Deborah* ſpake: and as the Governours and aſſiſtants doe themſelves take the oath of Allegiance, ſo they have power by their Charter to give the ſame to all that ſhall at any time paſſe to them, or inhabite with them; But, *Tempora mutantur*, and it may be tis with them, as with us, *& nos mutamur in illis*. And tis further ſaid, that their Eccleſiaſtique government, is not onely oppoſite to the ancient Epiſcopacy of the land, but to the diſcipline of the other Reformed Churches, even that which the Covenant calleth for: it may be worth our conſideration, that as there was a time when forraigners reformed were not ſo oppoſite to our Biſhops, but thoſe Divines (*e*) thought well of them, willingly gave to them Titles of Reverend Fa-

a *Reſp. ad Apol.* P. 29.
b King *Iames* workes, p. 340.
c *Inſtitut. l.* 4. *c.* 20.
d Letter 20. of the 10 moneth, 1635.
Charter.
e *Calvin. Beza. Gualt. alii.*

thers, and Illustrious Lords; and in their publique convenings, (*f*) spake of that Government with good respect, and the valedictory Epistle of Mr. *Cotton*, to the then Bishop of *Lincoln*, full of respective expressions, is yet to be seen, So the Bishops then were not such Antipresbyterians, *Cæcus sit*, saith (*g*) Bishop *Andrewes* to *P. Moulin* a Presbyter, *qui non videat stantes sine ea Ecclesias, ferreus sit, qui salutem eis neget, nos non sumus illi ferrei*, Let him be blind that seeth not Churches consistent without such an Hierarchy, let him be accounted iron-hearted that shall deny them to be in a way of salvation, we are not such iron-hearted men, yea and severall reformed Congregations of severall Nations have not onely been tollerated, but much refreshed under the Bishops of *London*, *Norwich*, *Winchester*, *&c.* These times have widened all differences every where, even among such as are or should be one in covenant; how are disaffections increased, divisions heightened, which have not only wofully abated christian love, but miserably augmented iniquities of all sorts? many being scrupulously curious about mint and annis, having little respect in the meane time to faith, righteousnesse, and the more weighty things of the law; and here may be taken up the lamentation of *Erasmus* (*h*), bemoaning himselfe exceedingly, that he had in bookes cryed up, *libertatem spiritus*, liberty of the spirit, which I thinke this age would call liberty of conscience, I wished thus saith hee, a diminution of humane ceremonies, to that end, that divine truths and godlinesse might be enlarged, *Nunc sic excutiuntur illæ, ut pro libertate spiritus succedat effrænis carnis licentia*, and he doth justly call it carnall licentiousnesse, for the Spirit of our God, *Gal.* 5. 20. names contentions, seditions, he-

f *Epit. Cent.* 16. p. 185. 285. & *concil. Dordrac.*

g *Andr. Posthu.* p. 176.

h *Ep.* p. 749.

hereſies, &c. workes of the fleſh, which being but lately ſowne, have ſtrangely growne up and multiplyed, ſo that a forraigne penne hath to *Englands* ſhame printed it thus to the world, (*i*) *Anglia his quatuor annis facta eſt colluvies, & lerna omnium errorum, ac ſectarum, nulla à condito orbe provincia tam parvo ſpatio tot monſtroſas hæreſes protulit atque hac, Epiſcoporum tempora intra ſexaginta annos non niſi quatuor ſectas protulerunt, & eas plerunque in obſcuro latentes, &c.* For I had rather bewaile than reveale the nakedneſſe of the Nation, I had rather ſtirre up my owne ſoule and others to piety, and peace, oh, when will men *lay aſide all bitterneſſe, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evill ſpeaking, with all malice; and inſtead thereof be kinde one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, as God for Chriſts ſake forgave you,* Epheſ. 4. 32. I wiſh there were a law to forbid all needleſſe diſputes, I wiſh that it and thoſe other ſeverall lawes were put in execution impartially, ſo that all men by all meanes were provoked to godlineſſe, that would preſerve from every error, for God is faithfull that hath promiſed, *If any man will doe the Fathers will, he ſhall know the doctrine whether it be of God,* Joh. 7. 17. Hearty endeavours for holineſſe in our owne perſons, and thoſe related to us, would take away the occaſions of many unkind controverſies, for the *Kingdome of God is not meate or drinke,* this or that government, or any ſuch externalls, no further then they ſerve to promote *righteouſneſſe and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghoſt,* Rom. 14. 17. and this is the beſt way to ſhew our obedience unto Chriſt, for hee that in theſe *things ſerveth Chriſt is* acceptable *to God, and approved of men.* ver. 18. When our Countreymen planted themſelves firſt in America, the name of Independency was not knowne; hee

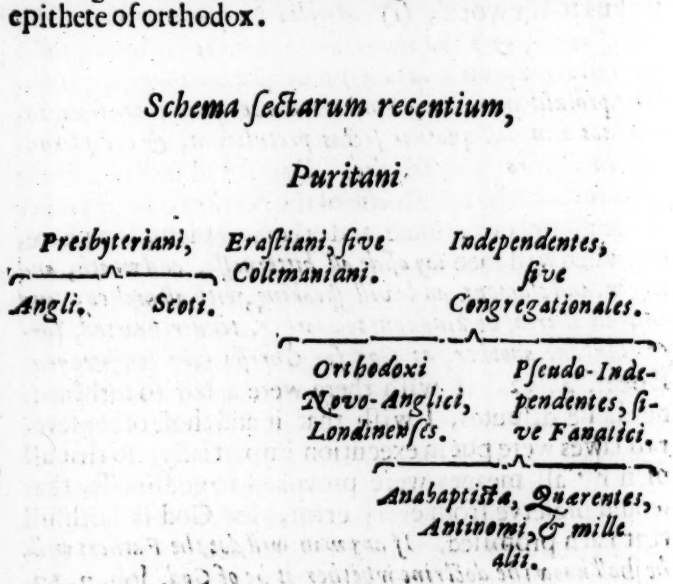
(*i*) *Honor. Reg. Commentar. Dantiſci.* 1647.

indeed that lately hath wrote (*k*) of the state of the Churches in *England*, drawes so the scheme that our Novangles are thus become Independents, but with the epithete of orthodox.

k *Idem ibid.*

Schema sectarum recentium,

Puritani



And for our Novangles it cannot be denyed, but many of them well approve the Ecclesiastique government of the Reformed Churches; as of old, *communi Presbyterorum consilio Ecclesiæ regebantur*, they desire it were so now; and some of them in New England are amazed at the manner of our gathering of Churches here: thus one writeth (*l*) that had bin a long time a Pastor among them; What more ungodly sacrilege, or manstealing can there be than to purloine from godly Ministers the first borne of their fervent prayers, and faithfull

Hicton. Tit.

1 Simp. C. p. 42

full preachings, the leven of their flocks, the encouragement of their ſoules, the crowne of their labours, their Epiſtle to heaven? If men will needs gather Churches out of the world as they ſay, let them firſt plough the world, and ſow it, and reape it with their owne hands, & the Lord give them a liberall harveſt. He is a very hard man that will *reape where he hath not ſowed, and gather where he hath not ſtrowed*, Mat. 24. 25. and if I miſtake not, ſuch kind of unkind and hard dealing was practiſed here in *England* even in popiſh times, what meanes elſe that Canon among the Saxon Councells (*m*), *Vt ſacerdotes aliorum parochianos ad ſe non alliciant*, how like this lookes to that I leave to the judgement of others, but theſe be the words of that rule, Let no Preſbyter perſwade the faithfull of the Pariſh of another Presbyter to come to his Church, leaving his owne, and take to himſelfe thoſe tithes; but let every one bee content with his owne Church and people, and by no meanes doe that to another, which he would not ſhould be done to himſelfe, according to that Evangelicall ſaying, Whatſoever yee would that men ſhonld doe unto you, doe yee the ſame to them; but whoſoever ſhall walke contrary to this rule, let him know hee ſhall either loſe his degree, or for a long time be detained in priſon. I ſhall by and by ſpeake more to this on their behalfe, now adde onely, that as many in New England approve of the diſcipline of the other Churches Reformed, and ſome of them ſufficiently diſlike the way and manner of our Church-gathering here, ſo all of them have now ſeen by experience the neceſſity of Synods: For in their great ſtorm of late that was ſo like to wracke all, the meanes to ſettle it was as ſtrange as the diſeaſe, ſo he writes that was an eye, and care witnes,

m Sir *H. S.* p *Panang.* p. 592.

A discourse of New England not printed.

They that heretofore slighted Synods, and accounted of them as humane inventions, and the blemish of those Reformed Churches that made use of them, are now for the preservation of themselves enforced to make use of that meanes which in time of peace they did slight and contemne; the Synod, saith he, being assembled, much time was spent in ventilating and emptying of private passions, but afterwards it went on and determined with such good successe, that in token thereof, hee saith, wee keepe a solemne day of thanksgiving, as there was cause, and the two men most different in opinion, were selected for the publike exercise, wherein they behaved themselves to admiration, the Acts and conclusions of the Synod, &c. I would further aske, if the Independent government, so farre as it is congregationall, be not as rigidly Presbyterian as any; sure I am, unkinde they are not to the other Presbyterians, Mr *Winslow* is an irrefragable *testis* herein, who mentions some there that are in that way, and knowne to be so, yet never had the least molestation or disturbance, but have and finde as good respect from Magistrates, and people, as other Elders in the congregationall way; yea divers Gentlemen of *Scotland*, that groaned under the late pressures of that Nation, wrote into New England to know whether they might freely be suffered to exercise their Presbyteriall government, and it was answered affirmatively they might; and yet further none of them here or there, that continue true to their first principles, differ at all in fundamentalls and doctrine from the other Presbyterians, and tis not unlike, but when God shall enlarge their borders, they will finde it needfull to approach yet neerer to the way of other Reformed Churches in their discipline: And there is

Relat. of proce. against *Sa. Gort.* p. 99.

of

of themſelves, that upon obſervation of their former very great danger, have left their judgement, with which I will conclude this Chapter: An excellent way they have, meaning their Eccleſiaſtique government, if Paſtors and people would ever be of one opinion, but when they ſhall come to be divided into as many opinions, as they are bodies, what will the ſequell be? and I ſee little probability of ſubſiſtence, where Independency yeelds matter of diviſions, but no meanes to compound them.

Diſcourſe before mentioned.

CHAP. VII.

To our ſelves, in behalfe of the Natives towards their converſion.

IT is the unfeigned deſire of every pious ſoule, that God would pleaſe to guide and bleſſe ſome holy and happy hand, in taking up the differences that are growne up among thoſe that are named by the ſweet name of Chriſt, that all who love the Lord Jeſus in ſincerity, would alſo ſincerely love one another; that mutuall forces were conjoyned to promote the glory of our common Maſter, not onely every man in his owne perſon, family, place, and Countrey, but by apprehending all opportunities to publiſh the eternall Goſpell of our Lord even to thoſe other ends of the earth. *Gregory* the great (a) did willingly encourage himſelfe in his deſire to Chriſtianize our Anceſtors the Saxons from hints of his owne obſervation, for ſeeing

(a) In *Bed. Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt. l.2.c.1.*

ing children of beautifull feature offered to sale in the market at *Rome*, as then the manner was, hee sighed within himselfe, and said, when he understood they were not Christians, Alas that the Prince of darkenesse should possesse such faire and lightsome countenances; enquiring further after their names, *Angles*, they have Angels faces indeed said hee, and tis meet all diligence be used that they be as the Angels of God in Heaven; when hee asked of what Province they were, it was answered *Deiri*, or *Deira*, for so was then that (*b*) seventh Kingdome called, *Northumberland*, in the time of the Saxons, *Dei ira eruti* saith hee, being made Christians they shall be delivered from the wrath of God; and upon demand, hearing that their Kings name was *Aelle*, he said Allelu jah, and praises to God must be sung there: In this worke if that may be any invitation, we have the like allusions, the whole Countrey is called the New world in the generall, and particularly there is New *Spaine*, New *France*, New *Netherland*, New *Scotland*, New *England*, why should not there be solicitous endeavours that all the Natives of that New World, should be made a world of New creatures; and if upon occasion and enquiry the Inhabitants be called Barbarians, such were we our selves in the common acceptation of the word, being neither Jewes nor Greekes; if Salvages, tis a name of hope that they are a salvable generation, and shall in due time be partakers of the common salvation; their complexion indeed is darke and duskish, as tis made after birth, but their soules are the more to be pitied, that yet bee in a farre more unlovely hue, even in the suburbs of that darkenesse, that blackenesse of darknesse, which is so terrible to thinke of: It was *Gregories* desire that Hallelu-jahs should bee sung

b *Lambard Peramb.* of *Kent.* P. 5.

ſung to and for the Engliſh; then heathen, the Chriſtian Engliſh may obſerve and wonder at that very word of frequent uſe among the Indians, as hath already been mentioned; finally there is a conſtellation or ſtarre, called the croſſe, peculiar to that Countrey, ſaith *Acoſta* (*c*), and it is ſo named becauſe foure notable ſtarres make the forme of a croſſe, ſet equally, and with good proportion, a good omen I wiſh it may be, and that a ſtarre may leade them alſo to their Saviour, that Chriſt may be made knowne *to them, and his peace through the blood of his Croſſe*, Col. 1. 20. To which employment wee have likewiſe other perſwaſions, beſides what hath been formerly ſprinkled here and there. 1. The neceſſity of the poore Natives require this care, who ſtand ſo much in need of ſpirituall bread, and ſo few prepare to breake it to them, they yet *walke in the vanity of their minde, having their underſtanding darkned, being alienated from the life of God through the ignorance that is in them, &c.* Eph. 4. 17. &c. and the leſſe ſenſible they be of their owne forlorne condition, the more ſollicitous ſhould others be to acquaint them therewith, together with the way of their deliverance. When (*d*) *Auſtin* the Monke came hither among the Saxons to preach the Goſpell, King *Ethelbert* oppoſed him not, but ſaid I cannot ſo eaſily forſake my owne Religion, and embrace theirs that is new; yet ſeeing theſe ſtrangers are come ſo farre and bring that to us which they eſteem moſt excellent, wee will uſe them kindly, they ſhall want nothing for their work: And ſurely were the Americans but a little civiliz'd, they would by degrees underſtand their owne miſerable eſtate, and themſelves would then beſpeake further enlightning; yea this is already in ſome of their fervent deſires, (*e*) as hath been intimated alſo formerly.

c *Hiſt. l.* 1. *c.* 5.

d *Malmſ.* p. 4. and *Beda. l.* 1. *c.* 25.

e Daybreak, &c.

2. Christians have a care of this for Christ their Masters sake, good subjects wish the ampliation of their Soveraignes honour, and how glad should wee bee when the kingdome of darkenesse is empaired, and there be continuall accresses to the *Kingdome of Gods deare Sonne*, Col. 1. 14. Tis our daily prayer, *Hallowed be thy name*, divulged, and made glorious all the world over, wee cannot better improve our interest and power, then by being active & industrious instruments thereof; wee endeavouring as much as wee may *that the Kingdoms of this world may become the Kingdomes of the Lord, and of his Christ*, Revel. 11. 15. *Non est zelus sicut Zelus animarum* (*f*), this zeale for soules carries in the wombe thereof glory to God, and honour to the zealots themselves, *Dan.* 12. 3. and unutterable comfort and benefit to them that are warmed thereby, *Iam.* 5. 20. and their debtors in this verily we are, if the words of another Apostle be with a little mutation applyed hither, for if *wee be made partakers of their carnall things, our duty it is also to minister unto them in spirituall things*, Rom. 15. 17.

f Greg. M.

3. The severall Patents to severall Planters call for this endeavour, such was that first granted to the Virginians by King *Iames*, it intended principally the propagation of the Christian faith; the like is to be read in the Patents and confirmations made by him and King *Charles* to others. And in the beginning of this Parliament, that Honourable Committee of Lords and Commons were appointed chiefely for the advancement of the true Protestant Religion, and further spreading of the Gospell of Christ among the Natives in America. Yea and in the Charter to Mary-land, the pious zeale for the spreading of the Gospel is first mentioned,

oned, and what ever ſuggeſtions be made, or aimes otherwiſe, there is a ſpeciall proviſo againſt thepr ejudice, or diminution of Gods holy and truly Chriſtian Religion, and the allegiance due to the Kings Majeſty, his heires, and ſucceſſors; it is not well then if Romiſh deſignes have been mannaged there, injurious to Religion, and offenſive to our other Plantations, but herein ſtands the force of this Motive, the mutuall and interchangeable Pact and Covenant of Donor and Receiver is in all thoſe Charters and Patents the converſion of the Natives.

4. I finde another encouragement from a Doctor lately lapſed into popery (*g*), yet profeſſing his willingneſſe to returne upon Proteſtants ſucceſſes this way; for he deemes it improbable, that ever they ſhould convert any Nation, or ſo much as any one ſingle perſon, except ſome poore wretch or other, whom feare or gaine will drive, or draw to any thing; but if ever the hiſtoricall relation of Gods wonderfull workings upon ſundry of the Indians, both Governours and common people, in bringing them to a willing and defired ſubmiſſion to the Ordinances of the Goſpell, and framing their hearts to an earneſt enquiry after the knowledge of God the Father, and Jeſus Chriſt the Saviour of the World; I ſay if ever thoſe diſcourſes come to the Doctors view, hee may once againe change his minde, how ever the happy progreſſes of our Countrey men in that worke, if they be knowne and well conſidered of by the Papiſts themſelves, they may be carried to admiration, expectation, and it may be further.

g Dr. *Vane* loſt ſheepe. p. 186.

5. The honour of our Nation may be another argument to this undertaking, that as to *Charlemaine* of old (*b*) the Saxons owe their Chriſtianity, and thoſe of

h *Crantz. Met.* p. 405. 8. 12.

Phrysia, *Dithmarse* and *Holsatia*, the Vandalls also and Hungarians: It will be glorious for the Chronicles and Annalls of *England*, that by the meanes of this Nation the Nansamonds were brought to the true and saving knowledge of Jesus Christ, and so were the Susquehannockes, Wicomesses, Conecktacoacks, Massachuseuks, Mouhacks, Aberginians and others; Thus will the renowne of the English name and Nation, ring over all the Westerne World. *Gregory* complaines more then once, that those Angles our Ancestors were willing to become Christians, but the Priests of *France* refused to give help and instruction. The Britons also refused to joyne with *Austin* here in his preaching to the Saxons, not out of pride and contempt as *Beda* (*i*) reporteth, but for that those people, invited hither as friends, became their onely enemies, driving them from their possessions, which themselves invaded as their owne, but these Indians give harbour to our Nation, whose faire and free accomodating of our Countrey men hath fully purchased to themselves all the spirituall favour wee and they are able to afford them, of which, when they also become sensible, honour will redound to this *England*, not onely from ours there, who professe truly, if they prosper, we shall be the more glorious, but the Natives enlightned by us will returne hither the tribute of their abundant thankfulnesse. And that every one of us may be cordiall coadjutors of our Countrey men in this most glorious undertaking, let me endeavour to warme the affections of the English there, and at home, by proposing a trafficke in a threefold stock for the promotion of this designe.

Lib.5.Ep.58.59

i *Hist.l.2.c.7.*

CHAP. VIII.

Further helpes to this worke.

THe firſt of theſe is already going, the ſtocke of prayers, both hence and thence on that behalfe to heaven, and not now in a viſion, as to St. *Paul* once, there ſtood a man and prayed him, ſaying, *Come over into Macedonia and helpe us*, Act. 16. 9. but the Natives begin to be really ſenſible of their ſpirituall neceſſities, and call earneſtly for that bread, and our countrey men deſire the aſſiſtance of their brethren here in many reſpects, all their Letters earneſtly beſpeak us in this, and O that we did heartily anſwer them in our conſtant and fervent prayers, in reference to this worke. There was indeed of late a generation of men, though extreme lovers of that Lethargy, yet forgate to be in charity with all men, they were content in their Letany to pray it would pleaſe God to have mercy upon all men, yet deemed it piacular to pray for the Novangles; The Directory guides otherwiſe, even by name adviſing to prayers for thoſe Plantations in the remote parts of the World.

2. This worke would be much proſpered by a ſtocke of wiſe and conſtant correſpondence mutually betwixt Old and New England in regard of this buſineſſe, what progreſſe is made in the worke, what meet to bee done for its furtherance, &c. Such communication of counſells would marvelouſly encourage and quicken

the Americans conversion. The French were spoiled of this help and intercourse from *Brasil*, by the Governour *(a) Villagagno's* Apostacy to Popery, and tis not credible, but if the poore Indians were made to understand that all the Nation of *England* were thus solicitous with God, and among themselves, in all industrious endeavours to recover them from their sinfull and lost condition by nature, but they would looke up also, and in earnest cooperate with them, and say also it may be, as was in the precedent Chapter mentioned of our Saxon King, who said, those Preachers should be kindly dealt with, and want nothing for their worke; yea somewhat like to this was long since spoken of by *(b) Colonchi* one of the Princes of *Peru*, when he was invited to be a Christian, his answer was, Sir I am old and unfit to forsake the rites and lawes of my Ancestors, but take my children as you will, and teach them what you please, they are young, and can more easily apply themselves to your customes, and instructions.

a *Levius, Hist.* præf.

b *Benzo.* p. 390.

3. And a stock of money must be remembred, which in some sense, is as it were the soule of this worke; the Poet said truly χρήματα γὰρ ψυχὴ πέλεται δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσι If wee meane the Indians shall be Gospellized, they must first be civilized, who are yet a very wild Olive, both by nature and life, they must bee weaned from idlenesse, and hunting, and nakednesse, they must be perswaded to labour, planting, learning, arts, and manufacture, that they may get cloathing, they must be taught to build for their owne habitations, for meeting houses or Churches on the Lords dayes, Schooles must be erected for instruction of their youth at other times, books of all kinds, tooles and instruments of all sorts must be pro-

c *Hesiod. Op. & Di. l. 2.*

provided, many and neceſſary materialls towards this ſtructure may be eaſily mentioned, but are not ſo eaſily purchaſed : If our Countrey men there have for their owne comfort and ſubſiſtance, tis little leſſe then a miracle, all things conſidered, and a wonderfull mercy, it cannot be expected, that they ſhould be able to adde conſiderable ſupplie towards all the forenamed particulars, and other emergent needfull occaſions, though there be that can beare *them record, that* to their *power, yea and beyond their power, they are willing of themſelves as the Apoſtle ſaid of his Macedonians*, 2 Cor. 8. 3. I crave leave therefore to pray every Chriſtian reader with *much entreaty to take* upon him the *fellowſhip of miniſtring* to this worke, *that you may abound in this grace alſo*, that I may uſe to you the ſame holy Apoſtles words; *Chryſoſtome* (d) deſirous to plant the Goſpel in *Phœnicia*, ſtirred up many godly men, and devout women, by their liberality to contribute towards thoſe endeavours. Yea and here let it be remembred, that as *Gregory* commends Queen *Brunechild* of *France*, and Queen *Adilberga* of *Kent*, for their charitable furtherance of this worke, the gaining of ſoules, the firſt Goſpelliz ing of our Saxon Anceſtors; So ſome pious Chriſtians among us of both ſexes, have ſhewed much bounty this way, encouraging and exampling others : The Spaniſh bookes relate ſtrange things of their zeale in this kinde, and one (e) whom wee may credit tells us, that America hath foure Arch-Biſhops, thirty Biſhops, and many other houſes as they call them of Religion, and if it be ſaid their lot fell into the golden part of that world, and out of their ſuperfluities they might well ſpare very much, tis very much indeed, and yet tis (f) ſomewhat more that the ſame writer obſerveth how the King

d *Theodor. hiſt. l.* 5. *c.* 29.

Lib. 9. *Ep.* 56, 57.

e *Gage* ſurvey of America. P. 81.

f *Id.* p. 3.

of

of *Spaine* maintaines the liſts and bonds of Miſſionaries, Prieſts, Fryers and Jeſuits, that are continually tranſported into America, hee provides for every of them ten yeeres, and that to this day, and *ſhall the children of this world in this alſo be wiſer then the children of light*, Luk. 16.8. ſhall they be enlarged for the promoting of themſelves, and their abominable ſuperſtitions, and ſhall not wee be as forward in that which directly aimes at the glory of Chriſt and the good of ſouls, as St. *Paul* ſaith of his Theſſalonians, that *they were examples to all that believed in Macedonia and Achaia*, 1 Theſ. 1.7. I truſt the liberality of ſome will invite and open the hands of many to be very forward in this worke, *for the adminiſtration of this ſervice, will not onely ſupply their wants, but will be abundant alſo by many thankſgivings unto God*, 2 Cor. 9.12. And I hope to heare once of a liberall collection and benevolence to be advanced in every Pariſh and Congregation of the land, to be put into ſafe hands, and ſuch profitable employment, as may indeed further the reering up of a Chriſtian Tabernacle in America. And while theſe papers were thus in their framing, an *Act, before mentioned, for propagating the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt in New England*, declareth much forwardneſſe towards a nationall contribution in reference to this worke, and the diſpoſall thereof to be according to the deſires of thoſe that have bin moſt induſtrious that way, and good care, I truſt will be taken that the monies run into the right channel; and for the better gale and conduct, the two Univerſities *Cambridge* & *Oxford*, have affectionately expreſſed their Chriſtian longings that this ſoule-buſineſſe may obtain all poſſible furtherance, in their Letters to their Reverend and deare Brethren the Miniſters of the Goſpell

in

in *England* and *Wales*, the *Divines of London* are deſired alſo in their ſphere cordially to act in this common cauſe of the Goſpel, that no obſtruction be left in the way of this moſt glorious endeavour, why ſhould any then bee ſtraightned in their owne bowells, why ſhould not all learne willingneſſe to this worke, by reading, conſidering, and practiſing what we find the old Jewes did in a like caſe, *Exod.* 35.

CHAP. IX.

The Novangles religious care to advance Piety and Learning.

IT hath been laid and left at the doores of thoſe whom ſome call Independents here in this *England*, that they have ſhewed little love to others going aſtray, and that their zeale hath been wanting againſt thoſe blaſphemies and hereſies that have manifeſtly diſhonoured the moſt ſweet and holy name of God, Father, Son, and Spirit. Our booke tells us of (*a*) a good man in former times when hee was accuſed of luſt, pride, &c. He ſaid, I confeſſe I am a ſinner, and I beſeech you pray for me, but when they laid hereſie to his charge, his heart was hot within him, his zeale was inflamed, and hee ſaid, *Hæreticus non ſum, & hoc vitium nulla patientia poſſum aut volo diſſimulare, hæreſis enim ſeparat hominem a Deo, & adſociat Diabolo: alienatus a Chriſto non habet Deum, quem oret propeccatis ſuis. Tis not for me to judge any, every one ſhall ſtand or fall to his owne Maſter*, Rom. 14. 4. but I would remember my ſelfe and

(*a*) *Agathon in Doroth. Doctr. & vita patrum.*

b Erasm. Ep. 6. others of his zeale, who said (*b*) *fateor in causa fidei etiam vitam negligendam*; I finde this grace very warme and working in our Novangles, for whom I have some few words more to mention in this particular, that my readers may be invited to thinke well of them, to doe well to them, and for them; or for the poore Indians rather, or ratheſt for Chriſt himſelfe, who ſhall have honour from us all, if wee all by communication of counſells, prayers, purſes, and every othet way endeavour the furtherance of their converſion to our Lord Jeſus; and to procure our cordiall conjunction with our brethren there in this, I ſhall tranſcribe ſome things out of their owne late printed booke of the lawes and liberties concerning the inhabitants of Maſſachuſets, by which their love to truth, godlineſſe, peace, and learning will be evident, together with their liberall and enlarged care to propagate the eternall Goſpell of our Lord among the Natives.

c p. 24. At the title of hæreſie, (*c*) this is the preface. Although no humane power be Lord over the faith and conſciences of men, and therefore may not conſtraine them to believe or profeſſe againſt their conſciences, yet becauſe ſuch as bring in damnable hereſies, tending to the ſubverſion of the Chriſtian Faith, and the deſtruction of the ſoules of men, ought duly to be reſtrained from ſuch notorious impiety, it is therefore ordered and decreed by this Court:

That if any Chriſtian within this jurisdiction ſhall goe about to ſubvert and deſtroy the Chriſtian Faith and Religion, by broaching or maintaining any damnable hereſie, as denying the immortality of the ſoule, or the reſurrection of the body, or any ſinne to be repented of in the regenerate, or any evill done by the outward

outward man to be accounted ſinne, or denying that Chriſt gave himſelfe a ranſome for our ſinnes, or ſhall affirme that wee are not juſtified by his death and righteouſneſſe, but by the perfection of their owne workes, or ſhall deny the morality of the fourth Commandement, or ſhall endeavour to ſeduce others to any the hereſies aforementioned, every ſuch perſon continuing obſtinate therein after due meanes of conviction ſhall be ſentenced to baniſhment. 1646. And before (*d*) having ſaid, that the open contempt of Gods word, and the meſſengers thereof is the deſolating ſinne of civill States, &c. It is therefore ordered, and decreed, That if any chriſtian, ſo called, within this jurisdiction, ſhall contemptuouſly behave himſelf towards the word preached, or the meſſengers thereof—either by interrupting him in his preaching, or by charging him falſely with any error, which he hath not taught, or like a ſon of *Korah* caſt upon his true doctrine, or himſelfe, any reproach—every ſuch perſon or perſons (whatſoever cenſure the Church may paſſe) ſhall for the firſt ſcandall be convented and reproved openly by the Magiſtrate at ſome Lecture, and bound to their good behaviour, and if a ſecond time they breake forth into the like contemptuous carriages, they ſhall either pay five pounds to the publique treaſury, or ſtand two houres openly upon a blocke or ſtoole foure foot high on a Lecture day with a paper fixed on his breaſt, written in capitall letters, AN OPEN AND OBSTINATE CONTEMNER OF GODS HOLY ORDINANCES, that others may feare and be aſhamed of breaking out into the like wickedneſſe. 1646.

(*d*) *Tit. Eccleſiaſticall*, p. 19. 20

There be ſome in this *England* that account it piety and Religion to ſpeake evill of Chriſts Miniſters, and

caſt off his Ordinances; now bleſſed of God from heaven and earth be our Novangles, Magiſtrates, Miniſters, and people that have ſo ſeaſonably witneſſed againſt theſe abominations.

They are great lovers of peace and government, theſe therefore be their words in another place; (e) For as much as experience hath plentifully & often proved that ſince the firſt riſing of the Anabaptiſts about an hundred yeeres paſt they have bin the Incendiaries of Common-wealths, and the infectors of perſons in maine matters of Religion, and the troublers of Churches in moſt places where they have been, and that they who have held the baptizing of infants unlawfull, have uſually held other errors or hereſies together therewith (though as heretiques uſe to doe they have concealed the ſame untill they eſpied a fit advantage and opportunity to vent them by way of queſtion or ſcruple) and whereas divers of this kinde have ſince our comming into New-England appeared amongſt our ſelves, ſome whereof, as others before them, have denyed the Ordinance of Magiſtracy, and the lawfulneſſe of making warre, others the lawfulneſſe of Magiſtrates and their inſpection into any breach of the firſt Table, which opinions, if connived at by us, are like to be increaſed among us, and ſo neceſſarily bring guilt upon us, infection and trouble to the Churches, and hazard to the whole Common-wealth: It is therefore ordered by this Court and authority thereof, that if any perſon or perſons ſhall either openly condemne or oppoſe the baptizing of infants, or goe about ſecretly to ſeduce others from the approbation, or uſe thereof, or ſhall purpoſely depart the Congregation at the adminiſtration of that Ordinance, or ſhall deny the Ordinance of Ma-

(e) *Tit. Anabaptiſts.* p. 1.

Magistracy, or their lawfull right, or authority to make warre, or to punish the outward breaches of the first Table, and shall appeare to the Court willfully and obstinately to continue therein, after due meanes of conviction, every such person or persons shall be sentenced to banishment. 1644.

And that wee may discerne how worthy they are that wee should doe all the good wee can for them, for they love the nation where they inhabite, and are very serious in *preparing them for one husband, to present them a pure virgin unto Christ*, 2 Cor. 11. 2. Severall therefore are their decrees in order to their conversion.

(f) 1. Every Towne shall have power to restraine all Indians from prophaning the Lords day. 1633. 1639. 1641. (f) *Tit.* Indians. p. 28, 29.

2. The English shall not destroy the Indians corne, but shall help them to fence in their grounds.

3. Considering one end in planting these parts was to propagate the true Religion unto the Indians, and that divers of them are become subjects to the English, and have engaged themselves to be willing and ready to understand the Law of God; It is therefore ordered and decreed, that such necessary and wholesome Lawes which are in force, and may be made from time to time, to reduce them to civility of life, shall be once in the yeer (if the times be safe) made knowne to them, by such fit persons as the generall Court shall nominate, having the helpe of some able Interpreter.

4. Considering also that interpretation of tongues is appointed of God for propagating the truth; It is therefore decreed that two Ministers shall be chosen every yeer, and sent with the consent of their Churches (with whomsoever will freely offer themselves to ac-

company them in that service) to make knowne the heavenly counsell of God among the Indians, and that something be allowd them by the Generall Court to give away freely to those Indians whom they shall perceive most willing and ready to be instructed by them.

5. They decree further that no Indian shall at any time Powaw, or performe outward worship to their false gods, or to the devill, and if any shall transgresse this law, the Powawer shall pay 5 l. the procurer 5 l. &c. 1646.

Their love to learning also is meet to be remembred, and encouraged, wherein they have (*g*) observed a chief project of that old deluder Satan to keepe men from the knowledge of the Scriptures, as in former times keeping them in an unknowne tongue, so in these latter times by perswading from the use of tongues, that so at least the true sense and meaning of the originall might be clouded with false glosses of saint-seeming deceivers, and that learning may not be buried in the graves of our forefathers in Church and Common-wealth, the Lord assisting our endeavours, It is therefore ordered by this Court and authority thereof, That every Township encreasing to the number of fifty housholds, shall appoint one within their Towne to teach all such children as shall resort to him, to write and read, whose wages shall be paid either by the Parents or Masters of such children, or by the Inhabitants in generall by way of supply, as the major part of those that order the Prudentialls of the Towne shall appoint, and where any town shall encrease to an hundred families or househoulders, they shall set up a Grammer school, the Masters thereof being able to instruct youth so far, as they may be

g Tit. Schools. P. 47.

be fitted for the Univerſity, and if any town neglect this above a yeere, every ſuch Towne ſhall pay five pound *per ann.* to the next ſuch Schoole, till they ſhall performe this order. 1647.

And an Academy or Univerſity is not onely in their aime, but a good while ſince they had more than begun well, and therefore wee read theſe words in another (*h*) part of their lawes, Whereas through the good hand of God upon us there is a College founded in *Cambridge* in the County of *Middleſex*, called *Harvard* College, for incouragement whereof this Court hath given the ſum of four hundred pounds, and alſo the revenue of the Ferry betwixt *Charles* Towne and *Boſton*, and that the well ordering and mannaging of the ſaid College is of great concernment; It is therefore ordered by this Court, &c. Then follow directions for the Preſident and Commiſſioners to eſtabliſh orders and diſpoſe gifts, &c. 1636. 1640. 1642.

h *Tit. College.* p. 12.

Mr. *Coleman* that was Eraſtianly principled, preached publikely that except ſome other way be found to keepe up learning, our Univerſities will be but uſeleſſe places, and learning it ſelfe an unneceſſary thing; for under this notion of Independency, Weavers and Tailors may become Paſtors, ſo that if ſome ſtop be not, the iſſue may be, that one may binde his ſonne Apprentice to a Cobler, and at ſeven yeeres end he may go out a free Miniſter, &c.

Sermon at *weſtm.* in *Ann.* 1646. *July*, 30. & *Iob.* 11. 22

But our Brethren of New England wee ſee have other principles and practiſes, and notwithſtanding that they went out as exiles hence, (*m*) *extra anni ſoliſque viam*—— yea as *Iacob* of old with his ſtaffe onely paſſed over *Iordan*, and ſuddenly became two bands, Gen. 32. 10. Theſe ventured upon the wide and wild Ocean with poore

m *Stat. Eccleſ. Brit.* præface.

poore and ſmall proviſion, and how great how many are the mercies that our God hath ſhewed unto his ſervants there, that they are not onely furniſhed themſelves with neceſſaries of all ſorts, and have made large ſteps in an Academicall way, having Acts, Degrees, and Commencements according to the commendable faſhion of *England*, as their own words are; The *theſes* at their Commencements diſputed upon have been printed ſeverall yeeres at *Cambridge* in New England, and thence diſperſed here; but they have alſo induſtriouſly furthered by their godlineſſe, gentleneſſe, and good orders, the converſion of a miſerable people that have lien ſo long in darkeneſſe. To warme the affections of the Engliſh here, to raiſe all our hearts and endeavours to joyne all poſſible forces here and there in this ſoule-worke, the next chapter is added.

CHAP. X.

The ſucceſſe of the Novangles in Goſpellizing the Indians.

Day breaking if not the Sunriſing of the Goſpel with the Indians in *New-England*. Printed for *Fulk Clifton*, on New Fiſh-ſtreet hill. 1647.

THE Reader here ſhall have a Breviate inviting him to peruſe thoſe larger diſcourſes, printed on purpoſe to raiſe our hearts in lifting up the high praiſes of God, that hath given this grace unto men.

Firſt Treatiſe.

FOure of the Engliſh, having fought God, went among the Indians, *Octo.* 28. 1646. to make knowne the

the things of their peace, they were conducted into the principall Wigwam of *Waaubon*, their chiefe miniſter of juſtice, who like another *Cornelius*, Act. 10. 24. *had called together* many men, women, and children to hear and learne, they began with prayer in Engliſh, not for want of language, but to ſhew them the duty was ſacred, and that wee might agree together in the ſame heart-ſorrowes for them, even in that place where God was never wont to be called upon: It was an affecting ſpectacle, after prayer, to ſee a company of forlorne outcaſts diligently attending upon the word of ſalvation, which in the ſpace of an houre and a quarter diſcovered to them the grounds of Religion, repeating, expounding, and applying the ten Commandements, then preaching Jeſus Chriſt the onely meanes of recovery from ſinne and wrath, perſwading them to repentance for ſeverall ſinnes which they live in. Wee next asked them if they underſtood what was ſpoken, which they affirmed with many voices, and then wee deſired to know if they would propound any queſtions to us, for their further ſatisfaction, and this they did, but not ſuch curioſities as ſome others of them had done before, as, *what was the cauſe of thunder, of the ebbing and flowing of the ſea, of the wind*: no, the wiſdome of God directed them to aske, *How wee may come to know Ieſus Chriſt?* one of them after wee had anſwered, ſaid, hee was praying in his Wigwam to Chriſt that hee would give him a new heart, but another Indian interrupted him, ſaying, hee prayed in vaine, becauſe Chriſt underſtood not what Indians ſpeake in prayer, as not being acquainted with their language, his queſtion therefore was, *Whether Ieſus Chriſt did underſtand the prayers of Indians?* another demanded, if *Engliſh men were once ſo ignorant of*

Page. 1. &.

P. 3.

Queſtions of the Indians.

P. 4.

P. 5.

Christ as themselves? and *how can there be an image of God, seeing it is forbiden in the second Commandement?* If *the father be bad, and the child good, will God be offended with that child? for tis said in the second commandement, hee will visit the sinnes of the fathers upon the children? How is all the world become so full of people, being all were once drowned in the flood?*

P. 6.

Questions to them.

Wee then asked them three questions. 1. If they did not desire to see God, and if they were not tempted to thinke there was no God, because they could not see him? some of them replyed they did indeed desire to see him, but we had taught them that could not be, yet they believed, though their eyes could not see him, hee was to be seen with their soules within. 2. Wee asked if it were not strange to them there should be but one God, yet this God should be in *Massachusets*, *Conectacut*, *Quimipenik*, in old England, in this *Wigwam*, in the next, every where? It is strange one of them said, as all else is we hear preached; yet they thought it might be true that God was so big every where. 3. Whether they did not finde something troubling them within after the commission of sinne, as murther, adultery, theft, lying, &c. they confest the trouble, but could not tell what to say to it, he therefore that first spake to them concluded with a dolefull description (as far as his language permitted) of the trembling condition of every soule that dies in sinne, and shall be cast out of favour from God. Having thus spent three houres, wee asked them if they were not weary, they said no, wee resolved to leave them with an appetite: the chiefe of them seeing us conclude with prayer, desired to know when wee would come againe, wee appointed the time, gave the children some Apples, and the men

P. 7.

what

what was at hand, they asked more ground to build a Towne together, which wee liked well, and promiſing our furtherance for them at the Generall Court, wee departed with many welcomes from them.

November 11. 1646, Wee came againe to the ſame Wigwam, there was a greater concourſe, and ſeats provided for us, wee began againe with prayer in Engliſh, and then catechized the younger ſort, wee asked them onely three queſtions in their own language. 1. Who made you and all the world? 2. Who ſhall ſave you from ſinne and hell? 3. How many commandements hath God given you to keepe? The Preacher then proceeded, Wee are come to bring you good newes from the great God, and to ſhew how evill men may come to be good, and be happy while they live, and goe to God when they die; then in familiar deſcriptions hee ſet forth God to them in his glorious power, goodneſſe and greatneſſe, ſhewing what his will was, and what he required, even of the Indians, in the ten Commandements, and how angry God was for any ſinne, yet that hee ſent Chriſt to die for their tranſgreſſions, and to pacifie God by ſuffering in their roome, if they did repent and believe the Goſpell, and that hee would love the poore Indians if now they ſought God, threatning wrath againſt all ſuch as ſtood out and neglected ſo great ſalvation, &c. In hearing theſe things about ſinne, and hell, and Chriſt, one of them ſhewed much affliction, deſiring to conceale his griefes; about an houre thus ſpent, wee deſired them to propound ſome queſtions, and the firſt was by an old man, *If it were not to late for ſuch an old man as hee to repent and ſeeke after God?* which cleared, 2. They demanded, *How the Engliſh came to differ ſo much from the Indians in knowledge, ſeeing at*

Second comming. p. 8.

p. 9.

Queſtions. p. 10.

first they had all one father? 3. Being satisfied in this also, they said, *How may wee come to serve God?* which being answered, their fourth question was, *Why the sea water*
p. 11. *was salt, and the land water fresh?* and their fifth, *If the water be higher then the earth, why did it not overflow it?* a Philosophicall answer was given to this, and they conferred much among themselves about these questions, but night hasting wee desired them to proceed,
p. 12. thereupon one of them said, *If a man hath committed adultery, or stollen goods, and the Sachim doth not punish him, and hee restore the goods, is not all well, will no punishment come from God, as if restitution made God amends?*
p. 13. this answered, wee asked two things. 1. What doe you remember of that spoken to you the last time wee were here? after some speech among themselves, one of them said, They did much thank God for our comming, and the things they heard were wonderfull to them; then Second'y wee said, Do you believe the things we tell you, and that God is *Musquantum*, *i.e.* very angry for the least sinne in your thoughts, or words, or works? they said yes, and we spake further of the terrors of God against sinners, and his mercy to the penitent, seeking after Christ; night being almost come, considering the Indians desired to know how to pray, and thought that Christ did not understand their language, one of us therfore prayed in their tongue above a quarter of an houre, divers of them holding up eyes and hands, and one of
A weeping Indian. them hung downe his head, with his rag before his eyes, which when hee had wiped, hee held up his head againe, yet such was the power of God upon his heart, that hee hung downe his head againe, covered his eyes, wiping
p. 14. them and weeping abundantly, till prayer was ended, then hee turned to a corner of the Wigwam, and wept

more

more by himſelfe, which one of us perceiving, ſpake encouraging words, hee then wept more and more; when he came out of the Wigwan, wee ſpake to him againe, hee then fell into more abundant weeping, like one deepely affected, ſo as wee could not forbeare weeping over him alſo; wee departed greatly rejoycing for ſuch ſorrowing. And while I am tranſcribing this, I know not whether firſt, to pitty the poore Natives in their ſpirituall diſtres, or ſympathize with the Engliſh in their holy compaſſion, or praiſe God more for diſcovering to the Indians their loſt condition by n ture, or that hee hath made our Countreymen ſo induſtrious in recovering them out of it; however I cannot but remind my Reader of the relators obſervations hereupon, at leaſt ſome of them.

Obſervations.

1. That none of them ſlept ſermon, nor derided Gods Meſſengers; Woe to thoſe Engliſh that are growne bold to doe that which Indians will not, heathen dare not. p. 17.

2. There is need of learning in Miniſters, who preach to Indians, much more preaching to gracious Chriſtians, theſe had ſundry Philoſophicall queſtions which could not have bin anſwered without ſome knowledge of the Arts; worſe than Indian ignorance hath blinded their eyes, that renounce learning as an enemy to Goſpel miniſteries.

At a third meeting it did appeare that the Indians notwithſtanding diſcouragements from other Indians, did encreaſe in their deſires after the word, and propounded more queſtions. Third meeting *Novemb.* 26.

What is the meaning of the word Humiliation, ſo often heard of by them in our Churches? Queſtions.

2. *What a ſpirit is?*

3. *Whether they should believe dreames?*

4. *How the English know God so much, and they so little?*

Being satisfied in this, they desire a place for a Towne.

p. 19. A day or two after *Wampas* a wise Indian offered his own sonne, and three more Indian children, to be trained up by us, saying they would grow wicked at home, and never know God, hee with two other young lusty Indians tendred their service to dwell in some of our families, they are two of those weeping Indians, and they are received into two of the Elders houses, where one

p. 20. of them confessed his former adulterous life, and feared that God would never looke upon him in love; upon our declaring the greatnesse of that sinne, yet hope of pardon through repentance and faith in Christ, hee wept bitterly; the other then present also confessed his like guiltines, & brak out into great mourning, wherein they both continued above halfe an houre. An English youth occasionally lodging in *Waaubons* Wigwam the third night of their hearing, assured us he instructed his company in the things he heard, and prayed among them.

p. 22. While the generall Court was considering where to lay out a towne for the Indians, they consulted about lawes for themselves.

Indian Lawes. 1. *If a man be idle a week, at most a fortnight, hee must pay five shillings.*

2. *If a man unmarried lie with a woman unmarried hee shall pay twenty shillings.*

3. *If a man beat his wife his hands shall be tied behind him, and he severely punish'd.*

4. *If a womans haire hang loose, or cut as a mans, she shall pay five shillings.*

5. *If*

5. *If a woman goes with naked breaſts ſhe ſhall pay two ſhillings ſix pence.*

6. *All men that weare long locks ſhall pay five ſhillings, &c.*

They were deſirous to know the name of their Town, it was ſaid *Noonanetum*, *i. e.* rejoycing, becauſe the Engliſh rejoyced at their deſires to know God, and God did rejoyce at it; this pleaſed them much. The two honeſt Indians told us that *Waanbon* and the reſt uſed theſe expreſſions in prayer, *Take away Lord my ſtony heart*, another, *O Lord waſh my ſoule*, another, *Lord lead me when I die to heaven.* p. 23. Indian prayers.

December 9. The children being catechized, and that of *Ezechiel* touching the dry bones opened, they offered their children to be inſtructed by us, complaining they had nothing to give us. We propounded ſundry queſtions to them, and one of them being *asked what was ſinne, ſaid, a naughty heart*, another old man complained of his feares, *he purpoſed to keepe the Sabbath, yet he was afraid whether he ſhould goe to hell or heaven*, another complained of other Indians *reviling and calling* them rogues *for cutting off their lockes*, for ſince the word hath wrought upon them, they diſcerne the vanity of their pride in their hair, of their owne accord therefore they cut it modeſtly. Fourth meeting. p. 24. p. 25.

Second Treatiſe.

THE awakening of theſe Indians raiſed up a noiſe round about, a Sachim from *Concord* ſide came to *Noonanetum* to an Indian lecture, where the Lord ſpake ſo to his heart, that hee deſired to caſt off his ſinneſull courſes, 1648. The clear ſunſhine of the Goſpel upon the Indians, &c. by Mr. *Shepheard*. 3

courses, &c. some of his men opposed him therein, he called the chiefe of them about him, and spake to this effect, That they had no reason at all to oppose the way of the English for their good; while you lived after the Indian fashion, what did the Sachims for you? onely sought their owne ends out of you, taking away your skinnes, kettles, and Wampam at their pleasure, but the English care not for your goods, onely seeke your good, &c. Upon this they desired Mr *Elliot* should
P. 3. come among them and preach, and they framed to themselves certaine lawes for their more religious and civill government.

Orders made by divers Sachims, at *Concord*, 1646.

1. *Abusers of themselves by wines or strong liquors shall pay for every time* 20 s.
2. *There shall be no more Powawing, the penalty* 20 s.
3. *They desire to be stirred up to seeke God.*
4. *And understand the wiles of Sathan.*
P. 5. 5. *And detest them.*
6. *That they may improve their time better.*
7. *A lyar shall pay for the first fault* 5 s. *for the second* 10 s. *for the third* 20 s.
8. *Against stealing.*
9. *Having more wives than one.*
10. *Against pride.*
11. *For paying their debts to the English.*
12. *Observing the Lords day, prophaners of it pay* 20 s.
13. *Weare their haire comely as the English, offendors pay* 5 s.
14. *None grease themselves as formerly, penalty* 5 s.
15. *Set up prayer in their Wigwams, before also, and after meate.*
16. *Adultery punish'd with death.*
17. *So wilfull murther.*

18. *Not*

18. *Not come to an Engliſh mans houſe without knocking.*
19. *Whoſoever beates his wife ſhall pay* 20 s. *&c.*

Moſt of theſe Indians ſet up prayer morning and evening in their families, before and after meate, keep the Lords day, cut their haire, miniſter what edification they can one to another, manifeſting great willingneſſe to conforme unto the Engliſh faſhions. p. 6.

March, 3. 1647. At the Lecture in *Noonanetum*, wee ſaw ſome Indian women well affected, and conſidering how unmeet it is for women to aske queſtions publikely, they were deſired to acquaint their husbands privatly therewith, or the Interpretor, the firſt was propounded by the wife of one *Wampooas*, *Whether ſaid ſhe doe I pray when my husband prayeth, if I ſpeake nothing as he doth, but I like what he ſaith, and my heart goes with it?* The wife of one *Totherſwampe* propoſed this, *Whether an husband ſhould doe well to pray with his wife, and yet continue in his paſſions and be angry with her, &c.* p. 7. Indian womens Queſtions.

An aged Indian complained of an unruly ſonne, asking what ſhould be done with him, when hee will not heare Gods word, though his father command him, nor forſake his drunkenneſſe. p. 8. An aged Indian told us openly, that the very things which Mr *Elliot* taught them of God and his Commandements they have heard ſome old men ſpeake, &c. and many of them have now this apprehenſion among them, that their forefathers did know God, but after this they fell into a great ſleepe, and when they did awaken they quite forgate him. p. 9. Another Indian told his dreame, that about two yeeres before the comming over of the Engliſh, one night hee could not ſleepe a good while, then he fell into a dream, thinking he ſaw a great many men come into thoſe parts cloathed as the Engliſh now are, a man roſe up among p. 10. An Indians dreame.

them all in blacke, with a thing in his hand, which hee now sees was all one Englishmans booke, hee stood upon a higher place than the rest, on one side the English, and a great many Indians on the other, he told all the Indians that God was *Mooſquantum* or angry with them, and would kill them for their sinnes, whereupon himselfe hee said stood up, and desired to know of the blacke man what God would doe with him, and his *Squaw*, and *Papooſes*, but hee would not answer him a first time, nor a second, till hee desired the third time, and then hee smiled on him, and said, Hee and his *Papooſes* should be safe, God would give unto them *Mitchen*, i.e. victualls, and other good things, and so he awakened.

P. 11. At *Noonanetum* the Indian men women and children, especially upon the Lecture daies, are clad partly by the gift of the English, and partly by their owne labour. *June*, 9. the first day of the Synods meeting at *Cambridge*, the morning spent in a preparative Sermon to that worke, in the afternoone there was a great confluence of Indians from all parts, to heare, Mr *Elliot* out of *Ephe.* 2. 1. shewed them their miserable condition out of Christ, dead in trespasses and sinnes, pointing unto them the Lord Jesus who onely could quicken them. They then propounded questions.

Indian Questions.

What Countrey man Christ was?
How far that place from them?
Where Christ was now?
How they might lay hold on him?
And where being now absent from them?

The English Magistrates, Ministers, and people, were much affected at what they saw and heard. An Indian P. 13. brake out into admiration, that God should looke upon them that had bin so long in darknesse; We wonder

saith

saith he at God, that hee should thus deale with us.

That winter many questions were propounded.

Why some so bad that they hate those that would teach them?

A *Squaw* said, *might she not goe and pray in the wood alone, when her husband was not at home, because she was ashamed to pray in the Wigwam before company?*

To what Nation Iesus Christ came first, and when?

If a man should be inclosed in iron a foot thithe and thrown into the fire, what would become of his soul, would it come forth thence?

Why did not God give all men good hearts?

How long is it before men believe that have the word of God made knowne unto them?

How they should know when their faith and prayers bee good?

Why did not God having all power, kill the devill, that made all men so bad?

If we be made so weake by sinne in our hearts, how can wee come before God and sanctifie a sabbath? p. 19. p. 20.

They propounded three cases about the Sabbath.

In the exercises, besides prayer for a blessing, Mr. *Eliot* doth four things.

1. He catechizeth the children and youth, by which the aged learne.

2. He preacheth out of some Scripture plainely and briefely.

3. If there be cause, admonition follows.

4. They aske us questions and we answer them.

Some cases and admonitions are there mentioned. Indian cases and admonitions, of one beating his wife.

1. *Wampoonus* upon a light occasion beat his wife, for this hee was brought before the Assembly, where the quality of the sinne was opened, as against Gods com-

mand, cruelty to his owne body, &c. hee turned his face to the wall and wept, hee was so penitent and melting, that all forgave him, but the Indians would have his fine notwithstanding his repentance, which he paid also willingly.

p. 21. Of an unruly son recovered.

Another case of was of *Cutshamaquin* a *Sachim*, who had a son fourteen or fifteen yeeres old, hee was drunk, and behaved himselfe disobediently against his father and mother, they rebuked him, but he despised their admonition, hee was brought before the Assembly, stood out a long time, though his father for his example confessed his owne faults, the young man still persisted, divers of us called upon him to acknowledge his offence against his parents, and entreat their forgiveneſſe, yet he refused; the Indians also affectionately put him on, divers spake one after another, and some severall times, at last hee humbled himselfe, confessed his sinne, and asked forgiveneſſe of his father, taking him by the hand, at which his father burst into teares, he did the same to his mother, who wept also, as did divers others, and many English wept also, the house was filled with weeping, wee went to prayer, all the time thereof the *Sachim* wept so abundantly, that the boord hee stood upon was all dropt with his teares. Some questions were after this propounded.

p. 22.

p. 23.

Prayer.

p. 24. Questions.

An old *Powoow* asked, *Why we had not taught them to know God sooner?*

Another said, *Before he knew God he was well, but since I have knowne God and sin, I finde my heart full of sin.*

Whether their children goe when they die, because they have not sinned?

If any of them shall goe to heaven, seeing their hearts are so full of sin, especially Nanwunwudsquas, mad after women?

If they leave Powawing and pray to God, what shall they doe when they are sicke, having no skill in Physick?

What shall we say to such Indians as oppose our praying unto God, and believing in Christ; what get you say they by this, p. 25. *you goe naked still and are as poore as we, our corne is as good as yours, and we take more pleasure then you, &c.*

They bring their cases to Mr. *Elliot*. A Law is now among them against gaming, other Indians demand their old debts, which they refuse to pay because it was a sinne to play, and they must not pay such sinnefull p. 27. debts. They tooke it to heart when Mr. *Elliot* told them he was afraid they were weary and cooled in their love to religion, and enquired when they did heare and pray aright, how they might know when they were weary of them, what time it might be before the Lord might come and make them know him, &c. some other cases were moved by them. A man before hee p. 33. knew God had two wives, the first is barren, the second brought forth sweet children, which of these must hee put away? if the former, they offended God, if the latter, they illegitimate their owne deare children? And, a *Squaw* leaves her husband, commits adultery with remote Indians, heares the word, repents, and returnes to her husband still unmarried, is not he bound to receive her? An old widdow *Squaw* said, if when men know God, p. 34. God loves them, why then are any afflicted after they know him?

Mr. *Elliot* preaching upon *Ephes.* 5. 11. *Have no fellowship, &c.* They asked *what Englishmen thought of him,* p. 35. *because he came among the wicked Indians and taught them?*

Another said, *Suppose two men sin, one knowes it, the other doth not, will God punish both alike?*

Againe, *If a wise Indian teach good things to other Indi-*

Indian cases.

ans, should not he be as a father or brother to such?

p. 37. One *Tataswampe* prayed at the buriall of an Indian child, with such zeale, variety of gracious expressions, and abundance of tears, that the woods rang with their sighs and prayers, the Englishman that heard him, said, hee was ashamed of himselfe and some others, that have had so great light, but want such good affections.

Third Treatise.

The glorious progresse of the Gospel among the Indians, &c. published by Mr *Winslow*, 1649.

THat woman that propounded the first question according to appointment by another man (2. Treatise, *p. 6. hujus p. 4.*) moved this also.

An Indian woman living and dying Christianly. p. 6.

When my heart prayeth with my husband praying, is this praying to God aright?

This woman kept at home, learned quickly to spinne well, held her children to labour, after she submitted to the Gospel her life was exemplary, she died of a sicknesse taken in childbed; Mr. *Eliot* visited her severall times, prayed with her, asked her about her spirituall estate, she said she still loved God though he made her sicke, and was resolved to pray unto him as long as she lived, and to refuse Powawing, shee believed God would pardon all her sinnes, because Jesus Christ dyed for her, that God was well pleased in him, that she was willing to die, believed shee should goe to heaven, and live happy with God and Christ; of her owne accord she called her children, and said to them, I shall now die, and when I am dead, your grandfather, grandmother, and Unkles, &c. will send for you to live among them, and promise you great matters, but I charge you

p. 7.

doe

doe not believe them, live not among them, for they pray not to God, keepe not the Sabbath, commit all manner of ſinnes, and are not puniſht; but I charge you live here, for they pray to God, his word is taught, ſins are ſuppreſt, and puniſh'd by lawes, therefore I charge you live here all your daies, ſhe died, and it fell out as ſhe ſaid. Tis obſerved many other Indians would come in, but they have neither tooles nor skill to fence p. 8. in their grounds, if the word were conſtantly taught, government exerciſed, encouragements for the induſtrious, with meanes to inſtruct them in letters, trade and labour, as building, fiſhing, flax, hemp, &c. many well-minded Indians would thus be drawne together. Mr. *Ellio* ſtirres up the Miniſters to learne the language, and aſſiſt in the worke, there is nothing elſe to invite but the good of ſoules, not ſo much as meate, drinke, and lodging to be had among the Indians, but ſuch as wee muſt carry with us, beſide what wee give away to them, &c.

Severall queſtions they then propounded. p. 10. Indian Queſtions.

Doth the Devill dwell in us, as we dwell in an houſe?

When God ſaith honour thy Father and thy Mother, doth he meane three Fathers; our Father, our Sachim; and God?

When a ſoule goes to heaven what doth it ſay? And what ſaith a wicked ſoule when it comes to hell?

Why did Chriſt die in our ſteads?

Why muſt we love our enemies, and how ſhall we do it?

How doth Chriſt redeeme and deliver us from ſin, when every day my heart thinkes I muſt die, and goe to Hell for my ſins, what ſhall I doe in this caſe?

How long was Adam *good before he ſinned?*

If two families dwell in one houſe, one prayeth, the other doth

doth not, what shall they that pray do to them that pray not?

Now the Indians desire to go to heaven, what shall we doe that we may goe thither when we die?

How shall I bring my heart to love prayer?

Doe not Englishmen spoile their soules to say a thing cost them more than it did, and is it not all one as to steale?

I see why I must feare hell, and do so every day, but why must I fear God?

If I reprove a man for sin, and he answer why do you speak thus angerly, Mr. Elliot teacheth us to love one another, is this well?

If a wife put away her husband because he will pray to God and she will not, what must be done in this case? May such women as pray to God, marry those that do not pray to God?

If my wife doth some worke on the night before the Sabbath, and on the Sabbath night also, is it a sin?

If I do that which is a sin, and know it not to be a sin, what will God say to that?

Whether is faith set in my heart or in my minde?

P. 20. Why have not beasts a soule as well as man, seeing they have love, anger, &c. as man hath?

Why doth God punish in hell for ever, man doth not so, but after a time lets out of prison againe?

What is faith?

How shall I know when God accepts my prayers?

How doth Christ make peace betwixt God and man, what is the meaning of that point?

In wicked dreames doth the soule sin?

Doth the soule in heaven know things done here on earth?

If my heart be full of evill thoughts, and I repent and pray, and a few houres after it be full againe, and I repent and pray againe, and after this it be full of evill thoughts again, what will God say?

What

What force of wicked men is lawfull, and what not?

What if a Miniſter weare long haire, as ſome other men do, what will God ſay?

Why doth God ſo hate them that teach others to commit ſinne?

If a man will make his daughter marry one ſhe doth not love, what will God ſay? &c.

There be ſundry of them begin to enquire after Baptiſme and Church Ordinances, and Mr. *Elliot* with conſideration ſpeakes ſolemnly not ſuddenly, nor lightly, but before the Lord, As I apprehend, ſaith he, in my conſcience, were they but in a ſetled way of civility and government, cohabiting together, and I called, according to God, to live among them, I durſt freely joyne into Church fellowſhip with them, and could find out at leaſt twenty men and women in ſome meaſure fitted of the Lord for it. That Indian that was Mr *Elliots* Interpreter, and firſt taught him words, was joyning himſelfe to the Church of *Dorcheſter*, and the very day of this writing was the day for the triall of that Indian in order to his admiſſion, and this was 2. of the 12. 1648. Since which time theſe labourers with the Lord have not been idle in this Vineyard, they are digging, and fencing, and gathering out the ſtones thereof, and planting it with the choiſeſt vine, &c. *Eſa.* 5. 2. and though ſome informations of their happy endeavours have unhappily miſcarried, there be other paſſages that have arrived hither, to give us aſſurance that they wax not faint in that Goſpel worke, they are not indeed yet printed, but I have obtained leave to give the Reader a little taſte thereof, for as we here long to underſtand what further foot ſteps be made, ſo the diſcoveries thereof will in due time and better manner be recommended.

Letter to Mr *Winslow*. 18. of the 8. 1649.

Mr *Elliot* in the beginning of the last spring prepared for his journey among the Indians, to a great fishing place upon *Merimak*, and hired an Indian to mark trees, and pilot him thither, which he did, with the helpe of some Indians, they passed by other of the Natives, who had heard of his preaching, and were very glad of his comming that way, but sickneſſe prevented him at that time; howbeit upon his recovery, he went to another place call'd *Pantuket*, where from all parts they meet, there he asked them if thoſe Indians were desirous to pray to God, and when they said yea, he demanded how many desired it, they answered *Wame*, *i. e.* all. The chiefe Sachim of this place had heard him before, and now shewed great affection to him, and the word of God, using many arguments to perſwade him to tarry among them, saying, his comming but once a yeere did them little good, it was as if one should come and throw a fine thing among them, and they like it well, but cannot tell what is within, whether something, or nothing, but if it be opened and they see it precious, they should believe it, &c.

Another Indian learning from Mr. *Elliot* that hee had five sonnes, asked him if they should all teach the Indians to know God, as he did, which when hee affirmed, the other was well pleased, and Mr. *Elliot* himselfe much encouraged, for hee had often dedicated them in his prayers to that service of the Lord, desiring no better preferment for them, than to be fitted for that worke, hee endeavours therefore with that smal meanes he hath to traine them up in learning, and God will I doubt not raiſe up some liberall hearts and hands to assiſt him therein.

This summer hee was making another journey, but in

in regard of ſome quarrells among the Indians, the Church was doubtfull at firſt of his going, which when the *Nashaway* Sachim heard, he took twenty men armed after their manner, and was his guard, with many other neerer Indians, ſo much do they hunger after inſtruction; this was a long journey into the wilderneſſe of ſixty miles, it proved very wet and tedious, ſo that hee was not dry three or foure daies together night nor day, but the Lord upheld him and his company in ſtrength and health. One of the Indians would needs know of Mr *Elliot* the reaſon why they that pray to God, love the Indians ſo doing, more than their owne Brethren, and when the reſt of them ſaid they all found it ſo in their hearts, this gave him occaſion to diſcourſe to them of the unity of the ſpirit. They propounded queſtions.

If a man know Gods word, but believe it not, and yet teach others, is that good teaching, and if others believe that teaching, is that good believing?

And when Mr. *Elliot* asked them *How they could tell, when a man knoweth Gods word, and doth not believe it, they anſwered, When he doth not in his practiſe anſwerable to that he knoweth.*

If I teach on the Sabbath that which you taught us, and forget ſomething, is that a ſin?

What ſhould I pray for at night, what at morning, and what on the Sabbath day?

What is true repentance, and how ſhall I know when it is true?

How muſt I waite on God?

When I pray for a ſoft heart, why is it ſtill hard?

Can one be ſaved by reading the booke of the creature?

When ſuch die as never heard of Chriſt, whither do they go?

VVhat is the meaning of the name Hebrews, why doth God say he is the God of the Hebrews?

If one purpese to pray, and die before that time, wither goeth his soule?

Doth God know who shall repent and believe, and who not? why then did God use so much meanes with Pharaoh?

VVhat meanes that, Blessed are they that mourne?

VVhat meaneth lifting up hands to God?

VVhat anger is good, and what is bad?

If a child die before he sin, whither goeth his soule?

If one that prayes to God sin, like him that prayes not, is not he worse?

And while they discourſed of this, and about hating of wicked perſons, one of them ſaid, *they muſt love the man and doe him good, but hate his ſin, &c.* For I will not foreſtall but prepare the publication of thoſe other remarkeable occurrences; and now *ex pede Herculem*, when this little of thoſe many matters worthy of obſervation, is ſeen together, none will call it *a day of ſmall things*, Zach. 4.10. *Shall we call this a day of ſmall things?* Shall not thoſe poore Natives in New England riſe up in judgement againſt Old England and condemne it? they at once or twice preaching of the Law and Goſpel, repent, and weepe, and pray, and heare, and moſt earneſtly enquire after God; but wee, when the Sunſhine of truth hath been ſo long cleare among us, degenerate into thoſe very ſinnes which they abandon and deteſt, and with indignation ſay, *get ye hence*, Eſ. 30.22.

They willingly forſake their Powawing, and inchantments; but the devill is broke looſe among us, and many deſire commerce with thoſe that have familiarity with him.

Day break. p. 22. The Indians ſet a mulct upon thoſe women that tie

not

not up their haire, that goe with naked breaſts, what would they ſay, what would they doe, if that ſex were as immodeſt as ſome in this Nation, bepainted, bedaubed, debauched, not more with ſpots in their faces, then ſtains in their glory, if Chriſtianity be to them any honour?

The Indians weare their haire comely as the Engliſh, and puniſh thoſe that doe otherwiſe; there be among us that would account it piacular it ſhould be ſaid of them that in the leaſt they looke *Rome*-wards, yet like thoſe locuſts *having the faces of men, they have haire as the hair of women*, Rev. 9. 8. grace is pleaſed to borrow that from nature, *if a man have long haire, it is a ſhame to him*, 1 Cor. 11. 14. Cleare Sunſhine. p. 5.

Thoſe Natives ſurely will riſe up in judgement with the men of this generation and condemne them; they pray in their families morning and evening, and upon other occaſions, they ſanctifie the ſabbath; wee have thoſe among us, that ſcoffe and ſcorne theſe practiſes of piety, and call the practiſers thereof Duty-mongers.

The Indians deſire publique meetings, and delight in the places where God is worſhip'd and his word is taught; but there be thoſe in this England that make it a great piece of religion to divide and ſeparate, though God himſelfe would not have us *forſake the aſſembling of our ſelves together, as the manner of ſome is*, *Hebr.* 10. 25.

The Indians asked Mr. *Elliot*, if any teach us good things ſhould wee not love him as a father, or a brother? but tis now among ſome eſteemed a ſigne of grace, and a badge of holineſſe, to deſpiſe their teachers, as if that Scripture of truth were never againe to be fulfilled. 2 Treatiſ. p 35

They mocked the Messengers of God, and despised his words, and misused his Prophets, untill the wrath of the Lord arose against his peaple, till there was no remedy, 1 *Chron.* 36. 16. But many other be the sad symptomes of our Englands defection and danger, and our God hath made himself many waies marvelous in New-England, Wee cannot call it a day of small things, Or if at first it was like *a little cloud arising out of the sea as a mans hand*, 1 King. 18. 44. certainely it carried *with it a a sound of abundance of raine*, ver. 41. even that raine *that commeth downe from heaven and returneth not thither but watereth the earth, and maketh it bring forth and bud, that it may give seed to the sower, and bread to the eater; Gods word hath not returned unto him void, it hath accomplished that which he pleased, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I send it*, *Es.* 55. 10, 11.

Now the blessing of the God of *Iacob be upon them* and their endeavours, even the *blessing of Iacob upon Ioseph*, the God Almighty *help them and blesse them with blessings of heaven above, blessings of the deep that lieth under*, Gen. 49. 25, 26. That God by their meanes may say to the *North give up, and to the South keepe not backe, bring my sonnes from farre, and my daughters from the ends of the earth*, Esa. 43. 6. so from the *uttermost parts shall we hear songs, songs of praise, even glory to the righteous*, 24. 16. and not onely glory to the Lord our righteousnesse, but those that winne *many to this righteousnesse shall shine as the starres for ever and ever*, Dan. 12. 3. and not onely hereafter in that heaven of heavens, but this shall bee told as Englands memoriall, in present and succeeding generations, and those American *Nations especially shall call them blessed* (Mal. 3. 12.) yea the *blessings of them that were ready to perish, will come upon them*, Job 29. 13.

for

for they have *done worthily in Ephrata, and are famous in Bethelem* (Ruth 4. 11) and when they be indeed sensible of this great mercy, they will not onely say, *thanks be unto God for this unspeakeable gift*, 2 Cor. 9. 15. But they will long to requite this kindnesse to the English also: and as of old almost all Nations receiving from *Ierusalem* the first meanes of their Christianity, expressed their gratefull mindes by their charitable beneficence upon all occasions to those that dwelt there, this began in the Apostles daies, *Act.* 11.19. *Rom* 15.26. Those of *Macedonia* and *Achaia* distributed to the poor Saints at *Ierusalem*, so it was the use till *Ieromes* (*k*) time, that all the Churches of the Gentiles sent collections to the Christians at *Ierusalem*, because they all from thence received first the glad tidings of the Gospel; where the same Christ is preached, there will be the like Christian affections, which likewise will be demonstrable upon every possible opportunity.

k T. 2. Ep. p. 126.

Gregory in severall Epistles, not lesse then twenty foure, to the great personages of those times, shewes much zeale in this kind, sometimes encouraging them, afterwards commending them for their assistance afforded to that glorious worke, the first conversion of our Countreymen. *Lib. 4. Ep. 52. l. 5. 10, 152. &c.*

Nothing more shall now be added but the praise and practise of (*n*) *Albertus* the Arch-Bishop of *Hamburgh*, who tooke upon him a resolution to visit in his owne person all the Northerne Provinces, not leaving so much as any one Island unbenefitted by his preaching; when all things were prepared, and his attendants chosen, and shipping ready, hee was diswaded by *Zueno* King of *Denmarke*, who told him those people would sooner be instructed by men of their owne Nation, who were best

n *Cranz. Metrop. l. 5. c. 18.*

best acquainted with the rites, manners, and language thereof; the Arch-Bishop hereupon dealt earnestly with others to that purpose, and made them most willing to the work, for there was not a man among them whom hee had not encouraged, and by his bounty hee warmed their zeale in publishing the Gospell, frequently repeating that sentence of our Saviour, *The harvest indeed is great, but the labourers are few, pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that hee will send forth labourers into his harvest*, Mat. 9. 37. 38. Finally as *David* to *Solomon* in the bulding of the Temple, 1 *Chr.* 22. 16. I wish it were effectually spoken to, and by all the English here and there, *Vp and be doing, and the Lord will bee with you.*

The

The Relation of Master ANTONIE MONTERINOS, *translated out of the French Copie sent by* MANASEH BEN ISRAEL.

THE eighteenth day of *Elul*, in the yeere five thousand foure hundred and foure from the creation of the World, came into this City of *Amsterdam* Mr *Aaron Levi, alias, Antonio Monterinus*, and declared before me *Manasseh Ben Israell*, and divers other chiefe men of the Portugall Nation, neere to the said City that which followeth.

Elul is the sixth moneth of the Jewish yeere answering to our August and to some part of September.

About two yeeres and an halfe agoe, the said *Monterinos* going from the port of *Honda* in the West Indies, to go to the Government of *Papian* in the Province of *Quito*, did hire some Mules of a certaine Indian Mystique, called *Francis de Chasteau*, in which company, together with other Indians, went a certaine owner of Mules who was also called *Francis*, whom all the Indians named Cacique, to whom it fell out, passing over the mountaine *Cordeville*, in a day of great winde and raine, that their carriages fell to the ground, whereat the Indians being grieved, as also at the evill weather, they begin to com-

complaine of their ill fortune, saying that they deserved all that, and more also for their sinnes, which the said *Francis* hearing answered, that they should have patience, that shortly they should have rest; whereunto they answered that they deserved it not, having used the holy people so ill, and the most noble of all the Nations in the world; but contrariwise that all the cruelties which the Spaniards had used against them did befall unto them for the expiating of that sin; after they were gone a little while, they stopt upon the Mountaine to rest, and passe the night season, at which time the foresaid *Monterinos* did take out of a box some few biskets, some cheese and sweet-meates, and offered some to the foresaid *Francis*, saying to him, take this though thou dost speake evill of the Spaniards, whereunto hee answered, that he had not told the halfe of the hard usage which they received from that cruell and inhumane Nation; but that after a short space they should see themselves avenged upon them by a hidden Nation: after these discourses between them, Mr *Monterinos* arrived at the Town of *Cartagena* in the Indies, where he was taken by the Inquisition and put in prison; one day praying unto God, hee uttered these words, Blessed be the name of *Adonay*, that hee hath not made me an Idolater, a Barbarian, an Ethiopian, nor an Indian; and pronouncing the name of Indian hee reproved himselfe, saying the Hebrewes are Indians; and then comming againe to himselfe said, am not I a foole, how can it bee that the Hebrewes should be Indians? the same fell out the second and third day, making the same prayer and giving the same thankes unto God, whence hee gathered that that fancie did not come to him by meere chance, remembring also that which passed between him-

him and the aforesaid Indian; so that hee tooke an oath hee would so informe himselfe of the whole matter, that hee should know the truth, and that comming out of prison hee should instantly seeke the Indian, and would bring to his minde the discourse which they had together, to obtaine by that meanes the satisfaction of his desires. Being then come out of prison by the goodnesse of God, he went to the forenamed Port of *Honda*, where hee had so much good lucke that hee found instantly the foresaid Indian, to whom he made his application, and brought into his memory the discourse which they had upon the Mountaine, whereunto he answered that he had not forgotten it, which *Monterinos* hearing, said that he would goe a journey with him, to which hee answered that hee was ready to doe him service: So the said *Monterinos* gave him three Pataques to buy some provision; whiles then they followed their journey and talked together, the said *Monterinos* at last discovered himselfe unto the said Indian, and told him in these words, I am an Hebrew of the tribe of *Levi*, my God is *Adonay*, and all the rest are nothing but mistakes and deceites; whereat the Indian being somewhat surprized, did aske him the name of his predecessors, whereunto hee did answer that they were called *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Iacob* and *Israel*, which the Indian hearing, did aske of him whether hee had none other Father, hee said yea, and that hee was called *Lodwick* of *Monterinos*; but the Indian being not well satisfied as yet, said these words unto him, on the one side I did rejoyce at that which thou hast said unto me, and on the other I am resolving to disbelieve thee, because thou canst not tell mee who were thy Fathers, whereunto the said *Monterinos* answered with an oath, that the thing

which hee ſaid was truth, having ſpent ſome time in queſtions and anſwers, and the Indian being wearied at the matter ſaid to him, art thou not the ſonne of *Iſrael*, to which he anſwered, yea, which the Indian having heard ſaid, make an end then of thy ſpeech, for certainly thou didſt put me in ſuch a confuſion that I would have been perplexed at it all my life time; nevertheles let us reſt a little and drinke, and then follow on our diſcourſe. After a little ſpace, the Indian ſaid unto him, if thou haſt the courage and boldneſſe to follow me, thou ſhalt know all what thou deſireſt, but I tell thee before hand thou muſt go a foot and eate roaſted Mayz, and do that which I ſhall bid thee; the ſaid *Monterinos* anſwered, that hee would not at all tranſgreſſe his orders; the day following which was Monday, the Indian came to the ſaid *Monterinos*, and bid him take out all that which he had in his pockets, put on his Alpergatas (theſe are a certaine ſort of ſhooes which the Indians weare) and take this ſtaffe and follow him, which the ſaid *Monterinos* did, leaving his cloake and his ſword and all what hee had, and ſo they followed on their way, the Indian carrying on his backe three meaſures of roaſted Mayz, two ropes, the one made with knots and an hooke with two teeth to climbe up by the Mountaine, and the other untied, to be made uſe of in the Marſhes and paſſages of Rivers, with a little Axe and the Alpergatas; they went then after this manner the whole wecke till Saturday on which they reſted, and returned to follow their courſe the whole Sunday and Monday; on Thurſday about eight of the clocke they came to a River as broad as the *Duero* in *Spaine*, and the Indian ſaid unto him thou ſhalt here ſee thy Brethren, and making a flag of two peeces of Cotten cloath which were their girdles, made a ſigne,

after

after which they ſaw a great ſmoake, and in a moment afterward the ſame ſigne with another flagge; and it was not long after that they ſaw in a Boat comming to them three men and one woman, which being arrived to the banke of the River, the woman leapt a ſhoare, and the men tarried in the Boate, which after a long diſcourſe which ſhee had with the Indian, which the ſaid *Monterinos* could not at all underſtand, went back to the Boate, and told the three men all that ſhee had heard of the Indian, which came inſtantly out of the Boate (having alwaies lookt with attention upon him, *viz.* the ſaid *Monterinos*) and did embrace him, and the woman did the like; after this one of the three men went backe againe to the Boate, and the other two together with the woman did ſtay there; which comming neer unto the Indian hee did proſtrate himſelfe at their feete, and they received him with demonſtrations of civility and affection, and begun to talke with him; after a little while the Indian ſaid to Mr *Monterinos*, be not amazed, and doe not believe that theſe men will tell thee a ſecond thing, before thou haſt well underſtood the firſt; the two men inſtantly put him between them, and told him the verſe following in Hebrew out of *Deut.* Chap. 6. verſ. 4. *Semah Iſrael Adonay Elohim Adonay Ehad, Heare O Iſrael the Lord our God is one Lord*; and hee informing himſelfe of every thing by the Indian Interpreter, and learning to ſay it in the Spaniſh tongue, the two men told him that which followeth, putting a little ſpace of time between one ſentence and another.

1. My Fathers are called *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, *Iacob* and *Iſrael*, and they named them all foure with three fingers, and then they added *Reuben*, making a ſign with foure fingers.

2. All ſuch as will come and dwell with us we will give them lands.

3. *Ioſeph* dwells in the mids of the ſea, making a ſigne with two fingers ſhut, and afterwards dividing the ſame into two parts.

4. Wee ſhall all one day ſpeake together, uttering with the mouth *ba, ba, ba,* and ſhall come forth as the earth had brought us forth.

5. Wee ſhall goe out from hence ſhortly (ſpeaking haſtily) ſome of us to looke out, and to make water, and ſaying theſe words, they winked with their eies and thruſt their feet to the ground.

6. A Meſſenger ſhall go.

7. *Francis* ſhall ſay ſomewhat more, making a ſigne with the fingers, that it would be a little.

8. Give us time to make our ſelves ready, and ſhaking their hand on all ſides, ſaid with their mouth, and with their hands, ſtay not long.

9. Send 12 men, making a ſigne that all ſhall have beards and be able to write.

Theſe diſcourſes being all ended, which laſted all that day, they came backe and told him the ſame Wedneſday and Thurſday, not adding a word more thereunto. And *Monterinos* being wearied, that they anſwered him nothing to that which hee asked, and that they would not permit him to paſſe the River, did draw neere the Boate in a diſſembling way, and would have caſt himſelfe therein to goe to the other ſide, but they thruſt her from the ſhoare with a ſtaffe, and the ſaid *Monterinos* falling into the water hee was in danger of being drowned, becauſe he could not ſwimme; the men caſt themſelves ſuddenly into the water, and drew him out, and ſhewing themſelves angry, ſaid unto him, doe not think

think that thou wilt bring to paſſe thy purpoſe by force; which the Indian declared unto him, and they ſhewed unto him by ſignes and words.

Notice is to be taken that the Boat for the ſpace of thoſe three daies did not at all ſtay in one place, but four men went and foure other came, which all of them ſaid the ſame nine things which we have mentioned, being all the men who during that time came to ſee him, about 300 more or leſſe.

Theſe men are ſomewhat burnt with the Sunne, ſome of them weare their haire to their knees, ſome others ſhorter, and others as wee uſe to weare it, faire bodies, good countenances, well made of foot and leg, with a linnen about their heads.

Moreover the ſaid Mr *Monterinos* declared, that going from that place on Thurſday at night with a great deale of proviſion which they brought to him, he tooke his leave of them, having been entertained by them, during the three daies which he ſtaied there; and having ſhewed him how they enjoyed all things which the Spaniards have in the Indies, aſwell of meates as of other things needfull for the life of man. Being come the ſame day to the place where they had lien the night before, Mr *Monterinos* ſaid to the Indian, *Francis*, thou doſt know that my Brethren ſaid unto me that thou ſhouldeſt tell me ſomething, therefore I pray thee tell it now to ſatisfie my deſire, whereunto the Indian ſaid, I ſhall tell thee what I know, if thou wilt not anger mee, and ſhall relate unto thee the truth ſo as I have heard it from my Anceſtors, but if thou doſt vex me (which I apprehend, perceiving thee to be ſo ſpeculatif) thou wilt oblige me to tell thee lies; ſo then I beſeech thee take onely heed to what I ſhall ſay unto thee.

Thy

Thy Brethren the ſonnes of *Iſrael* were by divine providence brought into theſe Countrys, God doing many miracles for them, which thou wouldſt not believe, if I ſhould tell them to thee as I have heard them of my Fathers; Wee Indians went into thoſe Countries and made warre againſt them, and did uſe them worſe then the Spaniards doe us: Afterwards by the command of our Mohanes (theſe are their Sorcerers) wee went as Souldiers towards thoſe parts where thou haſt ſeen thy Brethren, to wage warre with them, and of all thoſe that entred there, not one came backe againe alive; wee made a great Armie, and entring into his lands, all fell downe dead, ſo that not one eſcaped; at laſt wee raiſed another Army, for the making of which the Countrey was diſpeopled wholly, ſo that none but old men, women and children remained therein, which came to an end as the former had done; which thoſe who remained alive, and were not gone to that warre perceiving, ſaid, that the Mohanes had deceived them and were the cauſe of the death of their Fathers, for which they deſerved to be put to death, having then killed many of them, thoſe that remained alive did intreat them to hearken to them, and they would diſcover to them all the truth of that which they knew, which having gotten leave, declared that which followeth.

The God of theſe ſonnes of *Iſrael* is the true God, all that is written in his ſtories is true, they ſhall be Lords of all the world in the latter end, a people ſhall come hither which will bring many things to you, and when the land ſhall be well provided, theſe ſonnes of *Iſrael* ſhall goe out of their habitations, and ſhall become Lords of all the earth as it was theirs before, if you will be happy joyne your ſelves to them. The Indian having

ving made an end to relate the prediction of the Mohanes, followed on his discourse after this manner, My Fathers were Caciques, and there are yet four of them. These 5 Caciques then having heard what the Mohanes had foretold, as if they had been some of the Sages of the Hebrewes, came and tooke their habitation neere that place, to see if they could get acquaintance with some of thy Brethren. They satisfied their desire after a long time by the intercession of an Indian woman: because thy Brethren would never speake to our Fathers, and he of us that went into their Lands, did fall downe dead, and none of thy Brethren did passe over to us; we therefore made a League with them, by the meanes of that woman, under these conditions. First, that five men, sonnes to five Caciques or their successors, should come to visit them every seventy Moones, and that none should come with them. Secondly, that the man to whom the secret was to be declared, should be three hundred Moones old, and that nothing of this should be revealed to him in a place inhabited, but only in the open field, and when it should be revealed, that it should be in the company of all the Caciques; thus then (said the Indian) wee keepe this secreet amongst us, for the great reward which wee hope, for the innumerable services which wee have done to thy Brethren. Wee cannot go to see them, but from seventy to seventy Moones, if no new thing fall out; there hath not been any in my time except thy arrivall which they have so much desired and waited for. I finde no more but three new things according to my reckoning; the first, the arrivall of the Spaniards in these Countries, the second that Ships arrived in the

South ſea, and the third is thy arrivall. Of all three they have greatly rejoyced, for they ſay that the Prophecies do come to paſſe.

Moreover the ſaid *Monterinos* declared, that afterward hee came to *Honda*, where the ſaid Indian did bring to him three Indian young men, not telling him their names, till hee told him that hee might ſpeake freely with them, ſeeing they were his companions, which whom hee was in league, and that the other namely the fift was old, and for that cauſe was not able to come. The three Indians did imbrace him affectionately, and asked him of what Nation hee was; to whom hee anſwered, that hee was of the Hebrew Nation, of the Tribe of *Levi*; and then they imbraced him the ſecond time, and ſaid to him, Thou ſhalt ſee us one day, and ſhalt not know us, wee are thy Brethren by a ſpeciall favour which God hath ſhewed us, and having ſaluted him they went away: the Indian *Francis* bid him alſo farewell, and that hee went to ſpeak with his Brethren in the company of the other Caciques. As concerning this Countrey, wee have all the Indians at our command, and when wee ſhall have made an end of theſe cruell Spaniards, wee ſhall goe and draw you out of the ſlavery wherein you are, if it pleaſe God; which he will permit, becauſe his word cannot faile.

Finis. Laus Deo.

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I Manaſſeh Ben Iſrael *underwritten, beare w tneſſe, that this preſent paper hath been coppied with the whole truth*

truth of the originall, and that the Author Monterinos *is a vertous man, and ſeparate from all manner of worldly intereſts; and that hee ſwore in my preſence that all that which he declared was a truth.*

MANASSEH BEN ISRAEL.

J. DURY Received this at
London, 27 of *Novem.*
1649.

The Reader is entreated with his pen to amend theſe miſtakes of the Preſſe.

IN the Epiſtle Dedicatory, remove the note at the bottome of the Margin in the third page of (b) to the ſecond line of the next page. Page 5. line 12. read *Comeſtor.* p. 16. l. 19. r. *and uneaſie.* p. 18. l. 3. r. *è contra.* p. 21. r. *Witekind* in the margent. p. 21. l. 16. r. *they were.* p. 22. l. 23. r. *Maternus.* p. 24. l. 19. r. *records indeed.* p. 32. l. laſt. r. *thou.* p. 49. l. 28. r. *Iſrael was.* p. 50. l. 8. adde, *ſhould ſo farre, and ſo ſuddenly degenerate.* p. 6. l. 32. r. *converting.* p. 76. l. 31. r. for *our, the.* p. 80. l. 20. r. *your charity.* p. 93. l. 13. r. *Leitourgy.* and l. 15. r. *pray that.* p. 93. l. 15. r. *holy Spirit. Our books tell us.* p. 107. l. 30. r. *too late.* p. 118. l. 11. r. *hujus.* p. 113. p. 126. l. 4. r. 16, &c. p. 136. l. 12. r. *their lands.*